

# Earth



# First!

Beltane

May-June 1998

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## GERMAN NUKE ACTIVISTS DERAILED

BY MICHAEL MARIOTTE & DUST BUNNY

The controversy over shipping nuclear waste through Germany erupted again on March 20 when nearly 10,000 demonstrators blockaded a train carrying the nuclear

Because of an anticipated mass protest in Ahaus, the shipment began six days early, a plan known only by four government officials. Beforehand, tens of thousands of police were called in and occupied the small, conservative city. The demonstrators' campsites, set up on sympathetic farmers' land, were attacked and forced to close. Townspeople whose backyards fronted the railroad tracks were evicted from their homes, and fencing was put up to keep people from entering the homes or yards. All trains and busses to the area were halted. Cars without local license plates were denied entry and access. On March 20, getting to Ahaus required walking at least six miles around police barricades.

At the beginning of the week hundreds, then thousands, of police moved in. The throngs of demonstrators, mostly from Germany and the neighboring Netherlands, funneled in simultaneously. The police avoided the downtown shopping zone but were at every other intersection. They were on every quiet tree-lined side street with their vans, trucks, water cannons and armored personnel carriers blocking parking

spaces and creating an atmosphere of terror. Wearing the latest in body armor, they held helmets, shields and batons at their sides and tear gas canisters on their belts. Many had guns. They were ready for war.

*continued on page 26*



Activists on railroad tracks protesting nuclear shipments face-off with fully body-armored police.

material. The uprising was in response to the movement of the waste to an interim storage facility in Ahaus, located in the country's northwest corner near the Dutch border. The government did everything it could with strong-arm tactics to ensure a smooth transport of the six casks of high-level radioactive waste.

## Burmese Pipeline Resisted in Thailand

BY EDITH T. MIRANTE

The Yadana gas pipeline, one of the 20th century's last great corporate crimes, now slices through southern Burma's rainforest, heading for neighboring Thailand. Dozens of Thai environmentalists camped out on the pipeline route from December until March, in the indigenous version of Redwood Summer. They aimed to block continuation of the multinational joint-venture the Associated Press called "one of the most politically controversial infrastructure projects in the world."

The scheme to build a pipeline from the Yadana natural gas field, beneath Burma's Andaman Sea, to an electricity generating plant in Thailand was hatched by the arrogance of French, American and Thai corporate executives and the blood lust of Burma's military regime. The Burmese army crushed a massive "people power" uprising in 1988 and maintains a stranglehold on the country. The military regime, which calls itself the State Peace and Development Council, has waged war in ethnic minority regions, attempting to stamp out any threat of insurgency from indigenous peoples such as the Karens and Mons. In order to do so, the Burmese armed forces were increased to nearly half a million and re-armed with Chinese rifles, tanks and bombers, requiring the junta to seek hard currency from foreign investors.

Logging, mining and fishing companies were invited to loot Burma's natural resources without restraint (Burma follows no environmental laws), and their payoffs fill the generals' coffers. The biggest investors by far have been petroleum companies. Several explored for oil on land in Burma, but they came up dry and left. By drilling undersea, however, Unocal and France's Total found reserves of natural gas in a jointly held concession. Arco and England's Premier, which bought Texaco's concession last year, continue undersea exploration.



Burmese exiles and rainforest activists lockdown at a Unocal facility in California in 1996

## Wilderness With or Without You

BY DENNIS MARTINEZ

Decay, death, birth and growth are part of our everyday experience. They are organic processes that all of us are intimately familiar with. Ceremonies have evolved over time in all indigenous cultures that celebrate these changes in a spirit of supplication, reciprocity and thankfulness. Land stewardship practices that work with and even direct these natural processes have also evolved in indigenous cultures. Yet most of us in the larger industrial Western culture live, work and study in a human environment seemingly at odds with our everyday perceptions of nature. We live in an environment that is structured economically, technologically and intellectually like a machine.

A way of being inspired by the machine has dominated Western culture from the mid-19th century until the present. Viewed in this way, nature is imagined to be unchanging unless it is disturbed. Most resource managers, as well as the environmental movement, still think about nature in terms of the machine metaphor. The modern Western belief in the constancy and stability of nature was expressed by George Perkins Marsh in *Man and Nature* as early as 1864. Marsh says, "Nature, left undisturbed, so fashions her territory as to give it almost unchanging permanence of form, outline and proportion, except when shattered by geologic convulsions; and in these comparatively rare cases of derangement, she sets herself at once to repair the superficial damage and to restore, as nearly as practicable, the former aspect of her dominion."

### Environmental Roots

The principal prophets of the modern environmental movement—Emerson, Thoreau, Muir and Leopold—have repeated and enlarged the same theme of nature functioning optimally when left alone. Modern environmental preservationists draw their most compelling inspiration from these earlier transcendental philosophers.

The notion of "transcendental" implies something beyond our senses which is greater than we are. In this case, nature itself is viewed as a kind of divine manifestation. Nature is conceived as being perfect because God is perfect. Transcendentalism grew out of 17th and 18th century English natural theology which saw God revealed through his principal work, nature. You could know God if you knew his creation.

When viewed from this historical perspective, we see how similar the industrial exploitation of nature and the counter-industrial effort to preserve nature really are.

*continued on page 28*

*continued on page 13*

# EARTH FIRST!

NO COMPROMISE IN THE DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH!

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## Unearthing a Forgotten Civil Disobedience

Victories here mean sacrifices there. Successful campaigns in one region often result in exchanged trade volume in another. A local to the Cascadia bioregion recently called this the "waterbed" effect. You push down the saws here, and what do you know, they pop up in an adjacent forest. Just when we take a breather, our federal agencies swap pristine public lands for those thrashed and abused by industry.

Despite this uncontrollable cycle, we need to do more. Although already taking on one of the most important roles in our industry-pampered world, frontline defenders of the wild need to be active in other areas of resistance.

While continuing the imperative defense, we must embark on an ancient but nearly forgotten method of civil disobedience—the simple act of creating alternatives. In a world of store-bought food, classroom education, grid electricity and prefab rental houses, alternatives to the mainstream seem non-existent. As the natural world continues to erode at its edges, creating alternatives becomes more and more imperative.

Topsoils are being poisoned, becoming desertified and lifeless. Aquifers are sucked dry. As these trends continue, food will become more than just a daily commodity. Growing one's own food is a revolutionary concept that must be rejuvenated and worked into the everyday lives of the movement. It requires turning backyards into compost piles, vacant city spaces into viable plots, recycled lumber into greenhouses and letting the seeds takeover.

As the islands we reside on near their carrying capacity and topsoils become unproductive, self-sustaining food production will become an important criteria for survival. Now is the time to start busying ourselves. We must incorporate this not just in our personal space but around our communities, at universities, business offices and in elementary schools. Envision fourth graders ripping up manicured grass plots, turning soil, building compost piles, erecting greenhouses and producing the bulk of the cafeteria's servings. Why not make gardening a required class instead of those ludicrous fetal pig dissections?

With the elementary understanding of growing food

comes the even more taboo concept of alternative homebuilding. In a world of codes, permits, fines and city bureaucracies, Earth-friendly means of building remain evasive and underutilized. It is time for the government institutions to accept the importance of straw bale, cob and rammed Earth housing and start offering incentives and subsidies to those wishing to build mostly lumber-free dwellings. If there isn't a boom and swell in this sector, the demand for wood will continue to hack apart the forests and wildlands we are so determined to save. Like food, when wood becomes extremely scarce and pricey, the wake-up call will be sounded. Now is the time to start kneading cob loaves and getting dirt under our fingernails. These ancient methods of homebuilding need to resurface.

It is time to get radical not just in the forest but in our communities as well. Creating alternatives means more than bringing back simplicity; taking back the media that has become the prostituted, sole-source of information for so many is just as easy as layering compost. Ridding the standards of bogus journalistic "objectivity" means pirating the airwaves and creating community television stations. The Cascadia bioregion has already witnessed the redefinition of our local media with its weekly television show *Cascadia Alive!* and nascent *Radio Free Cascadia*. Television and radio are the mass media that imperatively need to be taken back by the people. Reclaim your tube space and frequencies.

As we bring to life these dormant and creative alternatives, the dollar-dependent transnationals will have less and less to feed on. These are arts we can practice here at home while daydreaming of the wild landscapes we are so passionate about. These kinds of activities will eventually monkeywrench the corporations we hate so much. We must not underestimate the work that needs to be done at home. Although the frontline defense of precious areas must continue, these forgotten acts of civil disobedience in town must reemerge. It is our job not to just steward and fight for the justice of our lands but also to create community-based alternatives the next generations will so urgently need.

—JOSH LAUGHLIN

## Earth First! Beltane

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Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or clearly printed. Send a SASE if you would like them returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via e-mail. Art or photographs (prints are best) are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. They will be returned if requested.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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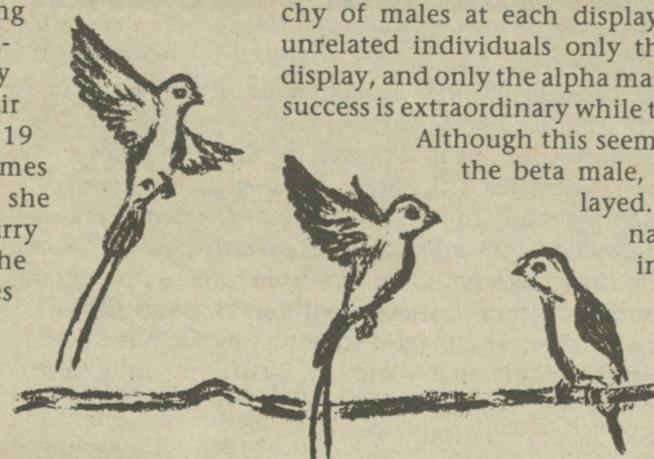
**JULY 11**

## Fauna Cabala

Fauna. n. animal life.

Cabala. n. an esoteric, secret matter or mysterious art.

Female long-tailed manakins (*Chiroxiphia linearis*) find male bonding seductive. Males of this South American avian species are partners for one or more breeding seasons; their tenacious associations are analogous to those of monogamous heterosexual bird pairs. They spend their days together performing cooperative courtship dances at traditional display locations which they defend. Perched side by side, the pair synchronously whistles "toledo" 19 times per minute, or about 5,000 times per day. When a female notices, she alights on the branch, initiating a flurry of elaborate courtship behavior. The males alternately launch themselves straight into the air while giving a wheezy call. To add flair, the male nearest the female jumps up and backward, landing where the second male was, while the second



## BY FAITH WALKER

male scoots over on the branch and springs from where the first did, effectively performing backward cartwheels. They do this up to 100 times, now and then spinning right over the female's head to cartwheel on the other side. For variation, the duo occasionally hovers and flutters madly, or they buzz the female at top speed. She usually responds to all of this by leaving. However, when sufficiently enamored, she communicates her desire to mate by hopping. One male then flies off while the other mates. After the female leaves, the expectant father calls his male partner back, and they resume whistling "toledo."

Females are completely disinterested in solitary males, and this has driven the formation of an age-based hierarchy of males at each display location. Among these unrelated individuals only the alpha and beta males display, and only the alpha male mates. His reproductive success is extraordinary while that of the beta male is nil.

Although this seems altruistic on the part of the beta male, his reward is simply delayed. He will outlive the dominant male, thus moving up in rank and taking possession of the display site. Persistent and intricate cooperative courtship behavior such as this has only rarely evolved among birds.

# Rethinking the Border

BY GARTH KAHL

"A comprehensive population policy for the United States that continues to advocate an end to US population growth at the earliest possible time through reduction in natural increase (births minus deaths), but now also through reduction in net immigration (immigration minus emigration)." That is the wording of the recent Sierra Club initiative that the *Earth First! Journal* and attendees of the recent EF! Organizers Conference condemned as being flagrantly racist and which some in "progressive" circles, like Alexander Cockburn, have likened to a David Duke KKK rally.

Immigration, like population reduction, is a complicated, highly politicized and inflammatory subject. By simply parroting Cockburn and others in dismissing this proposal and its supporters, including many longtime Earth First!ers (author Bill Devall), prominent ecologists and conservation biologists (E. O. Wilson) and the head of World Watch Institute (Lester Brown), as racist, the *Journal* and EF! Organizers Conference attendees contributed nothing towards resolving the issue.

According to the US Census Bureau, US population is growing by three million people a year. That's another city roughly the size of Los Angeles every two years. Of those three million people, roughly one million are legal immigrants (the US admits more legal immigrants than any other industrialized country), of whom about 10 percent are political (as opposed to economic) refugees. It doesn't matter if the people being added are brown, black, purple or white, tofu-eating, bike-riding enviros, they are still all going to be consuming resources and taxing the natural system. In addition, they will probably be consuming more than the world average, simply because it's hard to avoid doing so in our society. Even a first-world person living in Paraguay or Colombia will probably use fewer resources because public transport there is efficient, food has less packaging, more locally-made products are available, etc.

There are those who associate the supporters of this initiative with right-wing, racist or neo-fascist groups that also happen to espouse anti-immigration ideologies. By this same brand of logic, it could be shown that Earth First! is now allied with the Catholic Church, Operation Rescue and other pro-natalist factions that also favor unfettered population growth and immigration. Indeed, Santos Gomez, one of the prominent Sierra Club opponents of the initiative, stated at the recent Environmental Law Conference in Eugene that he didn't believe in the concept of carrying capacity! I suggest, at the risk of offending animal rights activists, that Mr. Gomez put a few fruit flies in a jar with a limited food supply and watch what happens. (Maybe we could tip off the Animal Liberation Front before they actually start starving to death, but after he gets the picture.) There is nothing in the initia-

tive that could remotely be shown to advocate increased harassment of (admittedly often exploited) illegal immigrants, increased militarization of the society or "racism" in general.

Issues involving population growth, both in the US and abroad, have always been highly inflammatory, and the broader progressive community is often quick to hurl the accusation of racism (or classism) at those who question the dogma that more human beings are intrinsically a good thing. Although many of us are also involved in the broader progressive movement, or at least concerned with coalition building, we need to admit that there are times when putting the Earth first may mean alienating many in the liberal community. One can easily foresee other issues involving US population growth where being a progressive and being an Earth First!er (or at least an ecologist) might mean different things. Imagine a proposal to eliminate the tax credit for children or a scheme to offer cash bonuses to those choosing voluntary sterilization? Without a doubt, many in the progressive community would argue, perhaps with some justification,

nations with higher immigration quotas or uses immigration as a "safety valve" to reduce domestic political pressure on client states. It has been estimated that NAFTA will eventually push several million Mexican farmers off the land (where many of them are practicing a more ecologically sustainable lifestyle than any Earth First!er I know) and force them to immigrate to the US, often at considerable risk and personal sacrifice. Attacking NAFTA and other forces pushing immigrants to this country is undoubtedly the best way to reduce immigration. But ignoring the situation and branding anyone as racist who merely suggests that US population growth is an ecological problem, is simply an exercise in sticking our heads in the sand.

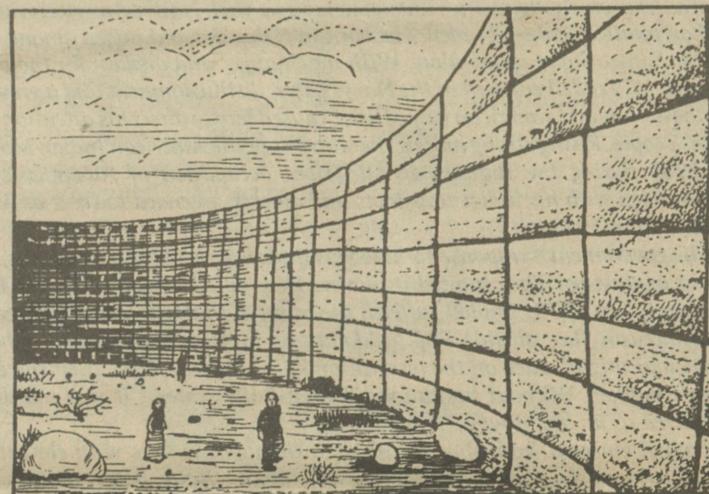
Instead of denying that immigration is a significant factor in US population growth, and consequently in US environmental destruction, we might instead begin a debate on an Earth First! position on immigration. What might one look like? Who said a policy reducing "net immigration" need target the poorest people, or even immigrants at all? If changing our foreign and economic policies didn't solve US population problems, what about first targeting educated and relatively affluent technocrats (those in greatest demand to further grow US industry)? Why not allow unfettered entrance to those, especially indigenous people, whose religions do not advocate being fruitful and multiplying? For that matter, why not provide entrance to any one person, provided one US citizen with an income over \$100,000 was forced to leave the country?

Like it or not, the *Earth First! Journal* and those at the activist conference chose the easy path of compromise on this issue. It's easy to point the finger at corporations and consumer culture, and controlling these would certainly help in the long run, but doing so won't significantly reduce the impact on wild areas in the near future.

In the short term, another three million people will be added to the US population this year, and an area roughly the size of Delaware will be paved. One million of these new North Americans, a city larger than Portland, Oregon, will be added through immigration. Moving more people to North America, where they will assuredly consume more than in their countries of origin, will not benefit the ecological systems either here or there.

There were many reasons to adopt a public policy against this initiative, including building coalitions with social justice groups and avoiding the old charge, also leveled by Alexander Cockburn, that we are "eco-fascists." There may also have been some lingering personal animosity toward Dave Foreman, one of the principal sponsors of the measure. Many of us are also involved in other progressive causes and groups and might have felt uncomfortable defending a policy that was being so publicly

*continued on page 28*



THE SIERRA CLUB COB BALE BORDER WALL

that these were "racist" or "classist" measures because the poor would "sacrifice" disproportionately (not having children is generally considered sacrifice in our culture) and that we should work to achieve an egalitarian society before implementing such policies. But if these policies had a chance of lowering the birth rate, wouldn't they at least deserve to be rationally considered, especially by the Earth First! movement? Immigration reduction, although an issue that might presumably offend humanists and Christians, should at least warrant discussion in ecological circles without the proponents being attacked as racists.

There are many ways to reduce immigration and US population growth in general, none of which need scapegoat immigrants, lead to increased repression of illegal immigrants, or put more cops on the border or on the streets. There are many forces driving immigration into the US including NAFTA, GATT, US covert and overt wars and US/corporate foreign policy, which often rewards cooperative

## Letters to The Editors... 300-Word Max or You Get The Axe

Dear First!ers,

Thanks for being the only tabloid that tells the truth about the environmental movement. A life member of Sierra Club, I have been more and more disgusted as the years have gone by, wondering what happened to the Club I joined. Only since I started getting your paper has it been apparent. I need to know the truth, not the glitz *Sierra* prints to sell magazines and look like mainline demojerks and republicards. And now I even know whom to vote for in the coming Sierra Club election (as soon as I saw Jeff D's name on

the ballot, things began looking up.)

Enclosed is an article from a local paper, since you asked for such should you be quoted. Well, the story is this—a fellow teacher came to work disgusted because he had just found out a building permit was to be issued for a "pig farm" right next to his property. Of course, it's to be a 1000 minimum feedlot facility, not a "farm." He wanted information. I went to my stack of ecorags and there was no competition: As usual, your articles were more complete and detailed. So that's what he took to the Planning

Board meeting (attended by many now-alerted residents), that's what the members got copies of, and that's what got quoted in the local paper. Interesting side: the reporter called me and asked for more information, and casually remarked that Sierra Club information probably wouldn't be trusted because they were known to be "too radical." But they had never heard of Earth First! so there was no objection to your article. Hee.

Of course, the monetary fix is in already so unless we get something in the way of a state moratorium or other delay, there will

soon be a hog feedlot polluting northern Maine, home of the largest monoculture, third growth, pine, privately-owned, soon completely clearcut, "forest" in the east. Whoop.

Sincerely,

—DR. JAMES W. LAUGHNER

Dear EF!

Over the last 15 years a lot of effort has gone into trying to protect West Coast forests, and the trees are still falling. I wonder why nobody seems to have thought of emulating the tactics of the Sea Shepherds and sinking a few of the ships that are

taking logs out of the country. The Sea Shepherds have proved it is possible to sink a ship without loss of life and also without getting arrested. With so many logging ships and so many US and Canadian ports, it would be impossible to guard them all, and it would only be necessary to sink a few before the insurance companies accountants got the message and raised the premiums on logging ships high enough to make the industry unprofitable.

—TSINDAR

*continued on page 30*

May-June 1998 *Earth First! Page 3*

# Protecting the Earth

## an interview with John Trudell

BY JOHN BOWLING

**EF!J:** Earth First! has changed a lot since it hit the scene in late 1979. Then it was about property destruction or monkeywrenching and less popular redneck-type wilderness politics. Since the late '80s, EF! has moved strongly toward a strategy of above-ground nonviolent direct action—basically a lot of civil disobedience. Some EF! groups even publicly denounce monkeywrenching now. What do you think EF!'s role should be in the environmental movement today?

**Trudell:** To always promote and keep alive the consciousness of the Earth. I think that is what it should be about, regardless of what the difference of opinion may be about whether it is spiking trees or sitting in trees, these are just tactics that

is who you are and what your perception of reality is. I don't think that just a blanket law can be laid down. But, for people to embrace violence just out of frustration or anger or emotional reaction is a big mistake. As individuals we are all responsible for what we do...

I think another discussion needs to take place over the difference between civil disobedience and noncooperation. We live within a system now where we can win some things, we can hold our ground on some things through civil disobedience... But, that just leaves us in a position where we are barely holding our own. In a way, violence and nonviolence play along with the rules of the state. They may have to give in to us on a little political thing here or there, but... the energy is being contained.

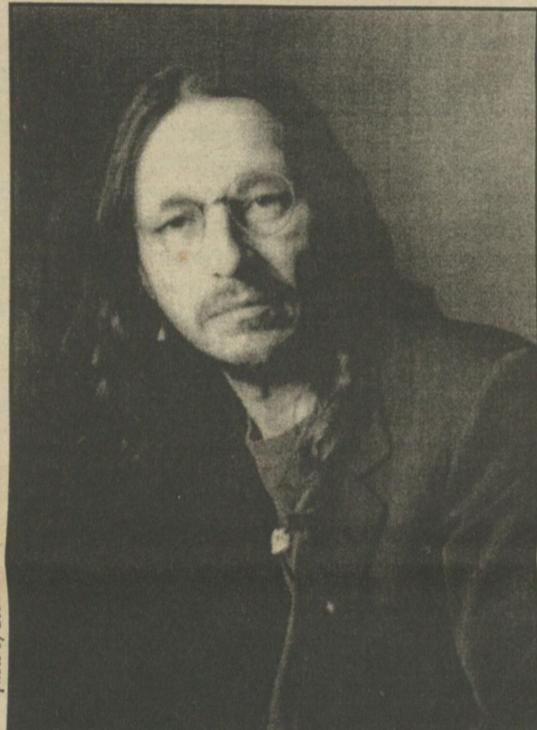


photo by Beth Hertzhaft

The FBI sums up its massive 17,000-page investigation of John Trudell by describing him as "extremely eloquent." Known today as a poet, Native American rights leader and a charismatic speaker, Trudell was born in Nebraska and raised among a large family on the Santee Sioux reservation. With much anger and disdain for the poverty he was trapped in, Trudell enlisted in the Navy. Later, disillusionment and a growing contempt for the dominant "American way of life," caused him to direct his attention to the struggle of his people. Rising strong among the warriors of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1969 during the Indians of All Tribes occupation of Alcatraz Island, Trudell reconnected with his indigenous roots and quickly ascended to serve as AIM's national chairman in 1973.

The government's response to AIM was brutal. As he bluntly explains, "They waged a war against us. They hunted us down. They killed, jailed, destroyed by any means necessary." In 1979, Trudell suffered the brunt of that war just 12 hours after burning an American flag outside FBI headquarters in Washington, DC, when a fire "of suspicious origin" back on the reservation killed his wife Tina, their three children and Tina's mother. Without hesitation, Trudell flatly states, "It was murder. They were murdered as an act of war."

Trudell emerged from this horrific loss through the '80s with electrifying political poetry and music, joining Jackson Browne, Bonnie Raitt, Bob Dylan and the Grateful Dead on tours. Today, he can be found organizing benefit concerts for native support groups and performing his uniquely powerful blend of spoken word all over the country. His new album, to be released this summer, is called *Blue Indians*.

The Earth First! Journal recently had the pleasure of checking in with Trudell. What follows is an excerpt from a telephone conversation with him on the topic of nonviolent resistance in defense of the Earth.

people are working out to accomplish the one thing that Earth First! needs to stick by and that is protecting the Earth.

I think that one thing for people to remember is that all things on this planet are different. It is how all the different things work together that makes the balance. So, within Earth First! there must be an understanding that there are different ways to get things done. If nothing else, whether or not people agree with the differences at this point, I would say that every idea should be respected.

**EF!J:** The new generation of EF! activists is arguing over whether nonviolence is the most expedient strategy for the movement. People are discussing whether it would be appropriate right now to employ more self-defensive, possibly even violent means of defending the Earth. What effects do you think that would have on the movement?

**Trudell:** I think we need to have an understanding of what violence is because a great many people say they are against violence, yet they live off of the fruits of violence... We live within systems that are violent. We live in excess. We are part of an excessive consuming society that's the result of violence against the Earth... The reality is that even though we say we are against violence, we still consume the products of violence against the Earth.

**EF!J:** The definition of violence is something that a lot of people talk about. I honestly don't think there is ever going to be a resolution of that argument.

**Trudell:** Right, there's not going to be a resolution to that. Just like the yin and the yang, the sun and the moon, the light and the dark, these two things are needed to keep the energy flowing.

I'm real interested in the concepts of violence and nonviolence. I just look at it in the sense that you have to do what you have to do and that's decided by the moment and the circumstances. Part of that

**EF!J:** So, there's no honorable way to fight?

**Trudell:** What I'm saying is there's a difference between civil disobedience and noncooperation.

**EF!J:** You're familiar with Gandhi's work and the civil rights movement. What then is your opinion of Gandhian-style noncooperation?

**Trudell:** Gandhi was operating in a different situation than here. So, I think that there are elements of what he was doing that work here. But what Gandhi did in India is not going to work here because this isn't India. We aren't Gandhi. But I think lessons can be learned. I think it is really about noncooperation in the long run.

Say it became Earth First!'s objective, on behalf of the Earth, as a means of raising environmental awareness, to organize on one agreed-upon day that we didn't spend any money. We went to work. We did whatever else it is we do... but we don't spend

anyway. If people would just one day say, "Hold on, I'm not going to consume," then they would really understand what kind of power they have in this society, which goes way beyond the power of the vote. To me it goes into the area of noncooperation. It's not about violence or nonviolence or obedience or civil disobedience. We just won't cooperate.

**EF!J:** There is this discussion of whether self defense is appropriate in those situations where violence is being perpetrated against activists.

**Trudell:** This is where I think the discussion needs to be taken into other areas. Every time you go out and demonstrate now, there they are with their cameras, and they got their pictures of everybody now. Everybody they arrest, they've got their home addresses, and they know how to find them forever basically because most people if they are fighting for the land, that means they're going to be [in one place]. If they have a national security matter or martial law, shit, 10 to 15 years from now they know exactly where to go. The anti-nukes movement coughed up a whole lot of that information with all the arrests we went through. They know where to come and look for us in case there was a real problem. We gave them a lot. We gave them our identities.

**EF!J:** Do you think that was a mistake?

**Trudell:** Well, I think it's something I just wouldn't eagerly embrace. They take pictures of everybody. They document and record, and they see who shows up the most... So, in case there is a real nuclear problem or whatever, they know who to go get first. That is a real learning thing for them... They're trying to identify us. Maybe the best way to defend ourselves is to understand the reality of these things and how far they can go.

**EF!J:** Was that something AIM was doing in the '70s, and do you think it was effective?

**Trudell:** Well, it was and it wasn't. There's a little good and bad to everything. But, yes, overall I think it was effective—just what AIM was about. But, what we're talking about now isn't about what AIM was about. That was then. This is now. The lessons to be learned from what AIM went through, and it wasn't just AIM, it was the whole anti-war movement,

everybody, is to not just repeat the motions that they went through during the '70s, the '80s... Take the best from that and incorporate into it whatever new needs to be added. I don't think there has really been anything added to all this that was based on the idea of noncooperation itself. Everything has been based on some form of civil disobedience, although there are things going on that are noncooperative. Take the woman sitting in the tree [Julia Butterfly]... She's not cooperating. That's a very individual effort of noncooperation.

Everything they do is for money. They want our money. During the '60s and '70s, everyone was understanding that they did all this for money. It was about economics. It was for profit. But we don't attack their profits... That's never been a strategy. Maybe a boycott. It has taken that kind of a form against a specific company or multinational.

**EF!J:** Like the United Farm Workers did in the '70s.

**Trudell:** Right. But, what I'm saying is that in America it is too difficult to get people to do something that takes that much time. So, you ask them to do it for one day.

**EF!J:** Over the years EF! has forged strong alliances with Native Americans in defending sacred sites at places like Enola Hill and Anpo in Oregon, Big Mountain and Mt. Graham in Arizona, Ward Valley in California and the Nevada Test Site. Do you have any advice for activists wanting to work more with native people?

**Trudell:** Don't stop doing whatever it is you're doing with direct participation. If there are ways you can increase that participation, I'd say do it. But, I can't tell you how to do it or what to do.

**"Regardless of what the difference of opinion may be about whether it is spiking trees or sitting in trees, these are just tactics that people are working out to accomplish the one thing that Earth First! needs to stick by and that is protecting the Earth."**

any money. Look on a national level, and try to get 25 percent of the population to do it. Everything we do violently or nonviolently is feeding into the economic system. We're attacking the issues, but we're not dealing with the reality of what's behind the issues and that is the economic system.

Let's say 25 percent of the population is involved... That would add up to an incredible number that would affect the daily economic reality... You look at the economic system. It is in such a fine line balance

# ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS

BY DERRICK JENSEN

Every morning when I wake up I ask myself whether I should write or blow up a dam. I tell myself I should keep writing, though I'm not sure that's right. I've written books and done activism, but it is neither a lack of words nor a lack of activism that is killing salmon here in the Northwest. It's the dams.

Anyone who knows anything about salmon knows the dams must go. Any one who knows anything about politics knows the dams will stay. Scientists study, politicians and business people lie and delay, bureaucrats hold sham public meetings, activists write letters and press releases, and still the salmon die.

Sadly enough, I'm not alone in my inability or unwillingness to take action. Members of the German resistance to Hitler from 1933 to 1945, for example, exhibited a striking blindness all too familiar. Despite knowing that Hitler had to be removed for a "decent" government to be installed, they spent more time creating paper versions of this theoretical government than attempting to remove him from power. It wasn't a lack of courage that caused this blindness but rather a misguided sense of morals. Karl Goerdeler, for instance, though tireless in attempting to create this new government, staunchly opposed assassinating Hitler, believing that if only the two could sit face to face Hitler might relent.

We, too, suffer from this blindness and must learn to differentiate between real and false hopes. We must eliminate false hopes, which blind us to real possibilities. Does anyone really believe our protests will cause Weyerhaeuser or other timber transnationals to stop destroying forests? Does anyone really believe the same corporate administrators who say they "wish salmon would go extinct so we could just get on with living" (Randy Hardy of Bonneville Power Association) will act other than to fulfill their desires? Does anyone really believe a pattern of exploitation as old as our civilization can be halted legislatively, judicially or through any means other than an absolute rejection of the mindset that engineers the exploitation, followed by actions based on that rejection? Does anybody really think those who are destroying the world will stop because we ask nicely or because we lock arms peacefully in front of their offices?

There can be few who still believe the purpose of government is to protect citizens from the activities of those who would destroy. The opposite is true: Political economist Adam Smith was correct in noting that the primary purpose of government is to protect those who run the economy from the

outrage of injured citizens. To expect institutions created by our culture to do other than poison waters, denude hillsides, eliminate alternative ways of living and commit genocide is unforgivably naïve.

Many German conspirators hesitated to remove Hitler from office because they'd sworn loyalty to him and his government. Their scruples caused more hesitation than their fear. How many of us have yet to root out misguided remnants of a belief in the legitimacy of this government to which, as children, we pledged allegiance? How many of us fail to cross the line into violent resistance because we still believe that, somehow, the system can be reformed? And if we don't believe that, what are we waiting for? As Shakespeare so accurately put it, "Conscience doth make cowards of us all."

It could be argued that by comparing our government to Hitler's I'm overstating my case. I'm not sure salmon would agree, nor lynx, nor the people of Peru, Irian Jaya, Indonesia, or any other place where people pay with their lives for the activities of our culture.

If we're to survive, we must recognize that we kill by inaction as surely as by action. We must recognize that, as Hermann Hesse wrote, "We kill when we close our eyes to poverty, affliction or infamy. We kill when, because it is easier, we countenance, or pretend to approve of atrophied social, political, educational, and religious institutions, instead of resolutely combating them."

The central—and in many ways only—question of our time is this: What are sane, appropriate and effective responses to outrageously destructive behavior? So often, those working to slow the destruction can plainly describe the problems. Who couldn't? The problems are neither subtle nor cognitively challenging. Yet when faced with the emotionally daunting task of fashioning a response to these clearly insoluble problems, we generally suffer a failure of nerve and imagination. Gandhi wrote a letter to Hitler asking him to stop committing atrocities and was mystified that it didn't work. I con-

tinued writing letters to the editor of the local corporate newspaper pointing out mistruths and am continually surprised at the next absurdity.

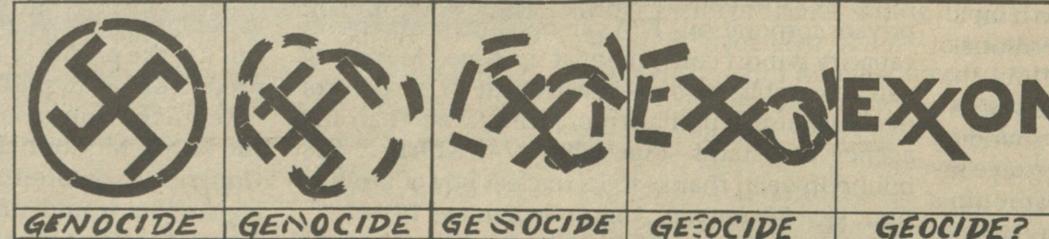
I'm not suggesting a well-targeted program of assassinations would solve all of our problems. If it were that simple, I wouldn't be writing this essay. To assassinate Slade Gorton and Larry Craig, for example, two senators from the Northwest whose work may be charitably described as unremittingly ecocidal, would probably slow the destruction not much more than to write them a letter. Neither unique nor alone, Gorton

and Craig are merely tools for enacting ecocide, as surely as are dams, corporations, chainsaws, napalm and nuclear weapons. If someone were to kill them, others would take their places. The ecocidal programs originating specifically from the damaged psyches of Gorton and Craig would die with them, but the shared nature of the impulses within our culture would continue full-force, making the replacement as easy as buying a new hoe.

Hitler, too, was elected as legally and "democratically" as Craig and Gorton. Hitler, too, manifested his culture's death urge brilliantly enough to capture the hearts of those who voted him into power and to hold the loyalty of the millions who actively carried out his plans. Hitler, like Craig and Gorton, like George Weyerhaeuser and other CEOs, didn't act alone. Why, then, do I discern a difference between them?

The current system has already begun to collapse under the weight of its ecological excesses, and here's where we can help. Having transferred our loyalty away from our culture's illegitimate economic and governmental entities and to the land, our goal must be to protect, through whatever means possible, the human and nonhuman residents of our homelands. Our goal, like that of a demolition crew on a downtown building, must be to help our culture collapse in place, so that in its fall it takes out as little life as possible.

Discussion presupposes distance, and the fact that we're talking about whether violence is appropriate tells me we don't yet care enough. There's a kind of action that doesn't emerge from discussion, from theory, but instead from our bodies and from the land. This action is the honeybee stinging to defend her hive; it's the mother grizzly charging a train to defend her cubs; it's Zapatista spokesperson Cecilia Rodriguez saying, "I have a question of those men who raped me. Why did you not kill me? It was a mistake to spare my life. I will not shut up... this has not traumatized me to the point of paralysis." It's Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa, murdered by the Nigerian government at the urging of Shell, whose last words were, "Lord, take my soul, but the struggle continues!" It's those who participated in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. It's Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull and Geronimo. It's salmon battering themselves against concrete, using the only



Continue writing letters to the editor of the local corporate newspaper pointing out mistruths and am continually surprised at the next absurdity.

thing they have, their flesh, to try to break down that which keeps them from their homes.

I don't believe the question of whether to use violence is the right one. Instead, the question should be: Do you sufficiently feel the loss? So long as we discuss this in the abstract, we still have too much to lose. If we begin to feel in our bodies the immensity and emptiness of what we lose daily—intact natural communities, hours sold for wages, childhoods lost to violence, women's capacity to walk unafraid—we'll know precisely what to do.

## OPINION

## BARE BONES

### Stone Container Ponies Up

On March 11, after two years of negotiations, the Missoula office of the Native Forest Network, Montana Coalition for Health, Environmental and Economic Rights and Cold Mountain, Cold Rivers came to comprehensive out-of-court settlements with the pulp and paper multinational Stone Container Corporation over violations of environmental laws at the company's pulp mill just outside of Missoula. The following day, the Environmental Protection Agency also settled with Stone, with the citizen groups as intervenors.

The citizen suit, filed using the citizen enforcement provisions of the environmental laws, requires Stone to spend \$450,000 on local environmental projects, \$150,000 to develop alternatives to the burning of chlorinated plastics generated by the mill's recycling plant and pay \$50,000 in fines to the US Treasury and implement an innovative pollution prevention program in the next five years.

### Maheshwar Dam Alert

More than 1,000 police took over the site of the Maheshwar Dam on the Narmada River in the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh in late March (see *EFJ*/February-March 1998). This renewed police occupation is thought by resistors to be a measure to obstruct massive demonstrations if the dam somehow now proceeds outside the terms of the stop-work agreement sealed on February 2. Amidst a PR blitz in regional papers touting the "massive benefits" of the dam project, the Madhya Pradesh Electricity Board and S. Kumans, the company developing the dam, insisted they are only interested in building a protection wall to prevent damage to the construction that has already been completed and to insure safety.

Enraged villagers sent a letter to the Chief Minister calling for a halt of the project. Receiving no response, over 500 people marched to the dam site on March 23 and demanded the company vacate the site within three days. On March 26, over 800 people from the Maheshwar area convened in the state capitol Bhopal for a demonstration and to speak with the Chief Minister. Another large demonstration was held on April 3.

Oregon-based energy utility, PacifiCorp, which is involved with Peabody Coal's mining of Big Mountain in Arizona, is helping put together the financing package for the project and is interested in investing in the dam if it goes ahead.

### Taku Mine Approved

Canadian Environment Minister Cathy McGregor and Energy and Mines Minister Dan Miller are allowing Redfern Resources to go ahead with its controversial proposal to develop the Tulsequah Chief gold mine and punch a 99-mile road into the Taku wilderness (see *EFJ* December-January 1998). The mine itself, which is meant to extract hard-to-handle, high-acid ore, is situated close to the best Coho salmon habitat in the Taku system. The road will open up the watershed to logging and other development and threaten some of the most intact wildlife habitat left in British Columbia. Grizzly bears, mountain goats and caribou will be subject to increased hunting and poaching, and disturbance by a variety of activities that the road will bring.

Contact Southeast Alaska Conservation Council at 419 6th St., #328, Juneau, AK 99801; (907) 586-6942.

# TVA Development Evicted Grannies



BY DAVID NICKELL AND TRACY JORDAN

The concept of public lands is based on the premise that, if private interests had their way, there would soon be no natural areas unmarred by humans. In seeking to protect natural areas, our governing officials have devised a complex web of bureaucracy that extends to countless agencies and persons, most of whom are unknown and not accountable to the actual public. Land Between the Lakes (LBL), which was actually Land Between the Rivers until its rechristening in 1964, offers an example of what can happen to the land and people caught in this web.

Land Between the Rivers was a peninsula of multi-generational farms and rural communities between the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers in western Kentucky and Tennessee. After the iron industry burned itself out at the turn of the century, the land was mostly used for farming, hunting and fishing. It was paradise to the people who lived there, with the rivers providing natural insulation and symbolic separation from the outside. Visitors from outside were often amazed to find that some of us had no electricity, indoor plumbing or telephone. We had privacy, beautiful land, woods, water and communities where everyone helped each other. We survived and rebuilt after floods—natural ones and others made by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) when they dammed the rivers.

We even established our own 70,000-acre Kentucky Woodlands National Wildlife Refuge in 1900 when Shelley Nickell decided to protect the last flock of wild turkey in the area. The federal designation came in 1938.

It was probably that wildlife refuge that spelled the beginning of the end for the people of Land Between the Rivers. In 1964 President Kennedy found it on a map, flew over it in a helicopter, sent in the National Park Service to study it and entrusted it to TVA.

When Kennedy realized that most of the viable wilderness in the West was already under government protection, he sought to build a legacy of public lands in the East, including those that could be restored and kept in pristine condition. Little-known wetlands and lakeshores received extra acreage, grandiose new names and statuses to match. Countless acres were absorbed by the government into this new national recreation plan. Many places were given national park and national monument status. There was a frenzy of involvement as state and local leaders sought to explore the new possibilities of tourism in areas that had been sleeping peacefully for centuries.

TVA believed there were no outstanding features in LBL, either natural or humanmade. They proposed that all commercial activity and permanent dwellings be excluded from the park. The waters would serve as a natural boundary. In other words, we, the people of Land Between the Rivers, were history.

The money TVA offered us was ludicrously low for our land and buildings. TVA justified this as necessary to "discourage land speculators." Those who refused the initial offers, under the threat of condemnation, received even less. The degradation of being forced from our places was intensified by our portrayal in the press as backwards, ignorant and lawless people. But the major reason all Americans should be upset about Land Between the Lakes is because what happened there is emblematic of what is presently happening to much of public land: It is being converted to suit the needs of interests that are not the interests of the people who love nature and love the land.

TVA's plan stated that no one could develop the land, profit from it in a monetary sense or do anything there to damage nature. That reality has been distorted in the new language of wise use and sustainable resources to mean that no one but TVA can develop the land. The mom-and-pop groceries of the 1960s have been replaced by sterile, electrified ones financed by taxpayers. In effect, the public pays top prices for trinkets and souvenirs their taxes have already paid for, from a store that they unwittingly paid to build, in front of a campground (that is little different from a mall parking lot) that they paid to pave, so that they could pay to park there on land that they unknowingly helped steal (ostensibly to prevent commercialization).

TVA recently set an alarming precedent in another part of Tennessee by issuing long-term leases to private interests and selling lands acquired by eminent domain as condominium sites. TVA justified the hiring of a Texas development firm to design condos and marinas as necessary to "maximize the value of the property." (As a hybrid public/private corporation, TVA can operate in whichever capacity is most convenient at the time.) Managing valuable public resources, with little or no control over their use, is perhaps more temptation than any agency can stand—especially TVA, which is \$28 billion in debt, thanks to its nuclear power production. [See *EF! Journal*, August-September 1994.]

Recent alliances with huge timber interests have also produced irreparable results. Commercial logging has been not only renewed, but increased dramatically. The cutting follows a patchwork pattern designed to prevent inclusion of more of the 170,000-acre forest into a nature preserve. And TVA used to brag that LBL was the largest unfragmented hardwood forest between the Rockies and the Alleghenies! It now openly boasts that its goal is to become "competitive in the outdoor recreation industry" and that "preservation is detrimental to outdoor recreation."

Shadowy alliances with development interests started with TVA's "five concepts" proposals for development of the LBL. These "concepts" were the result of the required public comment period on

such developments. The concepts included more groceries, equipment rentals, a restaurant, rental cabins, lake front condos and two golf courses. The centerpiece was to be a heritage theme park that would portray the unique history and culture of the people that inhabited the land from the 1700s until it was taken by TVA. (A very large percentage of the population traced its ancestry to Revolutionary War soldiers who received the land as payment for service.) This park would be encircled by the "Tennessee Splash," a replica of the Tennessee River, in which visitors could float in rented inner tubes. The public's response was so negative that TVA announced it would withdraw the proposal before the comment period expired. The agency promised it had no plans for any developments. Within a year, the restaurant, a Western store and numerous rental cabins had been constructed, and the logging had escalated.

The pattern has been consistent since the first commercialization efforts in 1988: Deny there is a plan, build quietly, then promise that there are no plans for further developments, build quietly, then promise again.

Protests by the public have been ignored by TVA. Conventional appeals to elected officials produced a congressional hearing last June, but nothing resulted. Hope hinges on a promise that the land would remain forever free of commercial development. This promise was made both to the former residents, as explanation for their expulsion, and to all Americans, as explanation for purchasing the land. If the government can be held to its promise to the people, it will be a major victory against the acceleration of wise use management. As corporate interests continue to use declining federal subsidies as an excuse to gain access to valuable public resources, the LBL issue will be a critical juncture in public land management.

TVA Chairman Craven Crowell has taken the unprecedented move of requesting that Congress not fund LBL or its other non-power programs (mainly dams and navigation). Congress recently approved funding of LBL for 1998 but stated flatly this will be the last year of funding. Because TVA "acquired" the LBL by its own authority and no enabling legislation was ever written to establish the legal status of the area, the only constraints on TVA's use of LBL have been the strings attached to federal money. TVA will now be "forced" to operate LBL from funds generated within the LBL and can use the profits as it sees fit. This is a dangerous precedent for all public lands.

Kentucky Congressman Ed Whitfield and Senator Mitch McConnell have introduced a bill to Congress to determine the future of the LBL. This legislation would turn the area over to the US Forest Service and sets up a special fund from which management expenses would be drawn. All revenues generated from LBL's resource "management" or from any business ventures therein would be put in that fund. The bill even specifies that TVA can give corporations renewable 30-year leases for development of "recreation facilities." While the bill is under consideration, TVA is scheduled to begin logging in core areas of the bioreserve this summer.

The Concept Zero Task Force has been formed to educate the public on this issue and is a coalition of former residents, business and sporting groups, environmentalists and educators. For more information, contact the Concept Zero Task Force at POB 56, Eddyville, KY 42038; <http://www.apex.net/lblcrisis>.

THE  
REAL DIRT

# Timber Certification

BY THAN HITT

On the drawing board, timber certification looks great. By offering financial incentives for ecoforestry, it seems that everyone wins: Industries get new markets, forests are protected, environmentalists claim victories and consumers get to help save the forests with every purchase. Unfortunately, reality is rarely so tidy. In reports from across the nation, we find that timber certification is more of a curse than a blessing: Industries get to greenwash their image, forests get status-quo management, environmentalists get the rhetoric of conservation biology without implementation and consumers get misled.

The current certification effort is a product of good intentions. The Woodworkers Alliance for Rainforest Protection, now the Good Wood Alliance, developed timber certification to help tropical communities defend themselves economically from encroaching multinational timber companies. In North America, however, these noble goals have been replaced by an emphasis on getting big industry "on board" and opening new markets. Let's trace the path of timber certification on the drawing board: the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), a non-profit, nongovernmental organization defined general "Principles of Forest Management" regarding overarching issues to be addressed in certification programs. These principals are now being refined into specific standards and guidelines by FSC-endorsed regional Certification Working Groups. Finally, the standards and guidelines are used by certification groups (i.e. SmartWood and Scientific Certification Systems) to certify forestry operations as sustainable. If the operation meets regional criteria by an acceptable margin, the timber from that sale is marked with the FSC seal and, ideally, is sold for a higher price to conscientious consumers.

As a former member of the Central Appalachian Working Group, I can attest to the weakness of our regional draft standards and guidelines. In the Central Appalachians, natural disturbances have been shaping these ridges and valleys for millions of years. These disturbances, including fire and windstorms, have produced biologically rich forests. It almost goes without saying that good forestry in the Central Appalachians should not exceed these natural guidelines in disturbance size or return interval. However, the Central Appalachian Working Group has created standards and guidelines that include multiple exceptions and qualifications to this principle, which disregard the basic tenant of ecoforestry.

The absence of strong standards in the Central Appalachians can be traced to a lack of consideration for the unique attributes of this bioregion. The current standards resulted from a single, hectic weekend of sifting through sample standards from the US and abroad. As a result, considerations of endemic species, the differences between the eastern slopes of the Blueridge and the highly dissected plateaus, and the abundance of small private land holdings were lost in the paper shuffle. In sum, we lost our focus on Appalachia.

In other regional working groups, similar problems plague the development of meaningful standards. At a meeting of the Southeast Working Group last December, the group rejected standards that "[w]here threatened or endangered species are present, their habitat must be protected in a systematic and deliberate way" and "inappropriate management activities are restricted in conservation zones or protected areas." If these common sense guidelines are unacceptable, what lax management can we expect to be certified in the southeast? This poor decision is representative of a working group where only one of the 15 members represents a conservation organization.

In the absence of strong regional standards and guidelines, true ecoforestry is not guaranteed by the FSC label. In the Central Appalachians, the only certified forest violates one of the most basic requirements of the FSC: maintenance of natural forests. Although black cherry is estimated to have

been merely 0.8 percent of the presettlement forest composition of the Allegheny Plateau, clearcutting favored this early successional species, and it currently comprises more than 20 percent of the forest canopy. Although black cherry farming is a lucrative business endeavor, certifying it carries a hefty ecological cost, requiring clearcuts for sunlight penetration and massive herbicide applications to control the ubiquitous hay-scented fern. In sum, even though the certified Pennsylvania operations are not natural forests, they are actively endorsed by the FSC.

Weak standards also jeopardize the national campaign to achieve zero cut on public lands. In 1997, we saw the tip of the iceberg with the certification of two

public forests: 58,000 acres in the Quabbin Reservoir of central Massachusetts and 550,000 acres in Aitkin County, Minnesota. Since then, the state of Pennsylvania has approved a certified timber program for over 2.1 million acres of state forest. Not to be outdone, John Palmer, forest supervisor of the Allegheny National Forest said recently that he is "considering certification" for the Allegheny. A seal-of-approval for timbering our public lands encourages us to squabble over how much timber should be cut from public lands, instead of facing the real issue: whether trees should be cut at all from public lands. Eco-certification of public lands mistakenly removes the burden of proof from those who intend to use public resources for private gain and places it squarely on the shoulders of those who work for its protection.

The case of Big Creek Lumber Company in California illustrates another pitfall of timber certification. In Los Angeles County, forest activists won a Wood Products Procurement Ordinance that mandated the county consume wood products intelligently. To meet their demand for certified wood, the county turned to Big Creek Timber Company of California. Unbeknownst to the county, Big Creek purchases and sells a majority of its timber from non-FSC certified operations. As a result, the county paid for status-quo timber while buying into the idea that the FSC label guaranteed good wood.

Unfortunately, there is little recourse to proactively affect the regional standards and guidelines in North America as they are in advanced stages for all regional working groups. However, with a clear and unified grassroots platform on a national level, we could improve the situation.

Grassroots forest protection groups from across the nation have begun to identify such a platform of issues that must not be compromised if certification is to have real value. Currently, the platform states that the following should not be completely or partially certified: old-growth logging, even-aged management, public lands (including federal and state lands) and paper and pulp industries.

In the final analysis, we should recognize that certification is the product of good intentions gone bad in practice. It looks good on the drawing board; it looks good to charitable foundations; it looks good to eager consumers. As timber certification moves from the drawing boards into the forests, we should strengthen the regional standards and expose abuses, enabling ecoforestry for the landscape and honesty for the consumer.

Your help is needed to move this platform forward on a national level. Please contact the Appalachian Restoration Campaign for more information at POB 5541 Athens, OH 45701; (614) 592-3968; arc@frognet.net, <http://www.heartwood.arc>.

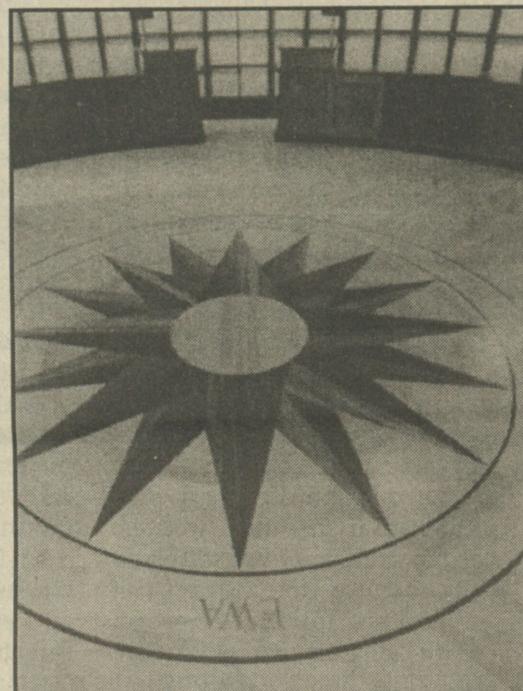
wolf control programs during his government term (which will last three more years). In December of 1997, he not only ruled out helicopter kills but also sterilizations and trapping incentives.

A brave wolf to the City Council of Flagstaff, Arizona, for recently declaring the city a Nuclear Free Zone. The decision comes at a time when Flagstaff and the rest of the I-40 corridor are being targeted as routes for the transportation of high-level radioactive waste going to the proposed interim dump at Ward Valley.

A Porky Pig poodle to Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman who announced a \$30 million USDA purchase of pork products to boost sagging hog prices. The pig is slated for use in the national school lunch program as well as by various food-distribution charities.

A yapping poodle with diarrhea of the mouth to the geologists at University of California, Davis, who were drilling in the Pacific Ocean to study hot-water vents and found a zone of high-grade copper ore below the sea floor. The area will soon be open to commercial mining.

A poodle shot by a poacher to New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson who used a line-item veto to slash \$344,000 in appropriations to the Conservation Services Division of the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish. Johnson's action will eliminate 33 percent of the staff working on endangered species.



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photo courtesy of SmartWood

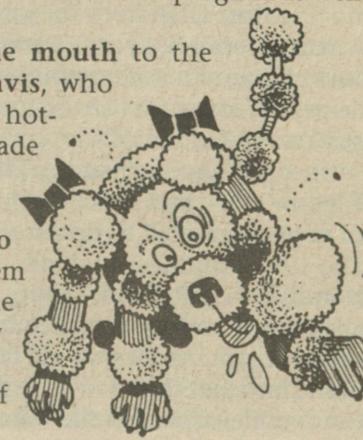
## Wolves & Poodles

A determined wolf to Jennifer Beatty for locking down to the metal mesh curtains of the McDonald's at her Moraine Valley Community College campus in Illinois. After following the McLibel trial closely, Beatty decided to demonstrate against the greasy multinational. The corporation not only has a fast food joint on campus, it also built the McDonald's Student Center and prohibits bake sales on campus.

A wild and vertigo-free wolf to Julia Butterfly for her courageous frontline defense. She is continuing her occupation of "Luna," an ancient redwood tree near Headwaters forest. As of April 21, Julia's occupation has lasted 130 days. She was recently presented the "Wage Peace Recognition of Valor" award by the Veterans for Peace and the "Protector of the Woods" award by the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee.

A switch-hitting wolf to the former timber town of Detroit, Oregon, and its city council for opposing logging in the Santiam watershed, the municipal drinking water source for the city of Salem and surrounding areas. The council recently voiced disapproval of the Forest Service's plan to log ancient forest in the watershed. The once timber-dependent town now thrives on outdoor recreation.

A outspoken wolf to the Yukon's Minister of Renewable Resources, Eric Fairclough, who announced an end to



# ES Ain't

BY ROGER FEATHERSTONE

The attempts of Congress, the American public and indeed of environmental groups to reauthorize the Endangered Species Act (ESA) have been spotty at best. Since 1993 the ESA has been up for renewal. Congress had an opportunity to reauthorize it in 1993-1994 when Senator Max Baucus (D-MT) (before his spine liquefied) introduced a decent bill in the 103rd Congress. Coupled with a solid ESA bill in the House, the environmental community had a good shot at reauthorizing. Instead of moving forward, however, the conventional wisdom in Washington, DC was that environmentalists should, as Michael Bean of the Environmental Defense Fund said, "wait for a better Congress."

November 1994 ushered in the Newt Gingrich take-over of Congress by the dreaded Republicans—the 104th Congress. Congress quickly introduced a number of horribly anti-environmental bills, including an ESA listing moratorium rider and a bill to gut the ESA.

Those were bloody days for endangered species and their homes. At the start, the only fighters on the battlefield were small bands of grassroots activists so used to fighting impossible battles they were not cowed by "political reality." After months of holding the lines and working behind the scenes recruiting new allies, endangered species activists fought back. In the final tally of the 104th Congress, some very important battles were lost: the ESA moratorium, the Mount Graham rider and the Salvage Rider. On other fronts, however, we advanced. And, just as importantly, our opponents went too far and fell victims of backlash.

Several important factors stopped the onslaught and put us back in a winning frame of mind.

(1) Our community is always better at stopping than starting something. The 104th gave us many bad things to fight. By 1995, however, we ran out of bad things to say without having an alternative. This necessitated an offensive.

(2) We learned the hard way to reach out to "new voices"—the medical, sporting, faith and fishing communities, among others. In doing so, we relearned an important lesson. All the

conservationists in the world can't do squat by themselves. But by "working outside the box" we accomplished some significant victories: We stopped all the bad ESA bills from moving forward, and out of 15-17 riders introduced, we only lost two.

(3) Everyone including the ivory-towered academics entered the fray and fought to protect the ESA. By working, instead of stewing and taking pot shots at each other, folks got things done.

(4) The combination of us hammering for a stronger ESA from one side and the Wide-Abusers on the other saying Dirk, Slade, Helen and the rest weren't going far enough, allowed us not only to kick the shit out of the compromisers in the middle, but also to motivate many bystanders who otherwise would not have engaged in the debate.

(5) Grassroots litigators filed some tremendously effective legal challenges against the US Fish and Wildlife Service's attempt to gut the ESA.

By November 1996, our forces were strong, we had beat up on the enemy, we had forward momentum, we were undivided, and the issues were still black-and-white. But, we were still only at one-tenth of the capacity we needed.

The 105th Congress changed all that. Dirk, Slade, Rich, Don, and even Helen, learned not to be so strident. Their new legislative attempts had a kinder, gentler look. By the middle of 1997, many of the good points I mentioned earlier had been erased. Pushing a protective agenda is now harder: We are working in 256 shades of gray instead of black and white. The public thought we had saved the day and went back to sleep. The one thing we didn't lose however, was our new voice.

Now, this is supposed to be an article about the Kempthorne bill, and halfway through it I'm just getting to the bill itself. Forgive me, but understanding why we have to stop a freight train few saw coming down the tracks six months ago requires some background.

The Kempthorne bill, S. 1180, is designed to gut the ESA. Who could stop an industry-sponsored bill with the support of two "environmental" senators, Interior Secretary Babbitt, the White House and the leadership of both the House and the Senate? Well, the bill was

introduced late last summer and was sure to be passed by November. Now it's the middle of April and still no vote—you figure it out.

The Kempthorne bill, S. 1180, is being called ES Ain't for some very good reasons.

It ain't got anything to do with the recovery of endangered fish, wildlife and plants; it threatens to hurl species past the point of no return. It authorizes long-term, multi-species incidental take permits (sometimes called Habitat Conservation Plans) on non-federal lands. It also prevents modifications to HCPs in light of new scientific information or changed circumstances.

It attempts to eliminate the checks and balances, public participation and accountability that help protect endangered fish, wildlife and plants. Specifically, ES Ain't gives the US Fish and Wildlife Service and the National Marine Fisheries Service only 60 days to issue a finding on whether HCPs or other plans will harm species. If the review is not completed in time, industry is free to proceed.

ES Ain't gives big developers and multinational mining, timber and oil corporations 100-year loopholes that let them destroy endangered species habitat until the year 2098.

S. 1180 is opposed by religious leaders, hunting and sportfishing groups and every nonprofit, grassroots conservation group in the US.

ES Ain't has been brought to a standstill despite tremendous odds. Why? Several good reasons. ESA fighters don't know when to quit—we just keep coming back for more! Anti-ESA constructions like HCPs and No Surprises, once thought to be benign by many, are now known to be evil, a tremendous change in public perception brought about by the untiring work of many grassroots groups who did a terrific job educating the public and the national environmental groups. The Wide-Abusers played a significant role by saying the bill didn't go far enough, creating a pincher movement of the ends beating up the middle. The White House, Babbitt and the Democratic sponsors of the bill, Senators Baucus and Reid, just never recovered from the fact that not one environmental group supports

the bill. And, knowing full well that many readers of this esteemed *Journal* do not condone strategic pragmatism, the value of having a good, proactive bill in the House (Representative George Miller's bill) with 104 bipartisan co-sponsors to point to as an alternative cannot be underestimated.

Extractive industries, not satisfied that the ES Ain't went far enough to line their greedy pockets, went to Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-MS) and asked him to sponsor amendments to make the bill even worse. This caused the already besieged offices of Baucus and Reid to overload, tying the bill's sponsors in endless negotiations. Finally, knowing that the major criticism of the bill from the White House and Babbitt was the lack of a funding source for landowner "incentives," Kempthorne latched on to a scheme proposed by Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM) of selling \$350 million of public lands to fund the ES Ain't. This proposal was tacked on to the Senate Budget bill the first week in April. It appears to be too much even for the White House and Babbitt to swallow. Babbitt wants the ES Ain't in the worst way, but he can't accept selling public land to pay for environmental "protection." Senator Reid has vowed to withdraw his support for the ES Ain't because of Domenici's rider.

As it now stands, Congress is running out of legislative days this session. The bill has considerable support, but we have significant strength. So far, we've kept S. 1180 from the Senate floor. If we turn up the heat even more, we should prevail. If we waver, become distracted or lose faith, we will get trounced. I'm betting we will prevail. I'm betting further we will build on our current strength, put our heads together and come up with the means to pass a stronger ESA next year that will truly protect our natural heritage.

Roger Featherstone is the director of the GrassRoots Environmental Effectiveness Network and is on the management team of the Endangered Species Coalition. Having spent years Earth First! organizing as well as years in exile within the DC beltway, Roger is now based in Albuquerque.



electricity supply line. "For a while everything went according to the poachers' plan, and they had fish in their bags. But at a certain moment the man holding the net tripped and fell into the water," a police official said. The other poachers tried in vain to revive him.

Nominee #4 [Kalamazoo Gazette]: James Burns, 34, of Alamo, Michigan, was killed in March as he tried to repair what police described as a "farm-type truck." Burns got a friend to drive the truck on a highway while Burns hung underneath so he could ascertain the source of a troubling noise. Burns' clothes caught on something, however, and the other man found Burns "wrapped in the drive shaft."

Who would you vote for?

## 1997 Darwin Award Nominees

It is once again time to consider nominees for the Darwin Award. The award is given posthumously each year to the groups or individuals that best demonstrate Darwin's theory of natural selection by permanently removing their DNA from the human gene pool.

You may recall last year's Darwin Award winner: a man who found out moments before making a 300-mile-per-hour dent in an Arizona cliff that the Jet Assist Take Off unit he'd strapped to his car could not be turned off once turned on. The 1994 winner was the fellow killed by a Coke machine that toppled on him as he attempted to tip a free soda out of it.

The 1997 nominees include:

Nominee #1 [AP, Cairo, Egypt]: Six people drowned while trying to rescue a chicken that fell into a well in southern Egypt. An 18-year-old farmer was the first to descend into the 60-foot well. He drowned, apparently after an undercurrent in the water pulled him down, police said. His sister and two brothers, none of whom

could swim well, went in one by one to help him but also drowned. Two elderly farmers then came to help but were also pulled by the same undercurrent. The bodies of the six were later pulled out of the well in the village of Nazlat Imara, 240 miles south of Cairo. The chicken was also pulled out. It survived.

Nominee #2 [Bloomberg News Service]: A terrible diet and a room with no ventilation are being blamed for the death of a man killed by his own farts. There were no marks on his body, but an autopsy showed large amounts of methane gas in his system. His diet consisted primarily of beans and cabbage (and a couple of other things). It appears that the man died in his sleep from breathing from the poisonous cloud hanging over his bed. Had he been outside or had his windows open, it wouldn't have been fatal. Three of his rescuers got sick and one was hospitalized.

Nominee #3 [Reuters, Warsaw, Poland]: A poacher electrocuting fish in a lake in central Poland fell into the water and suffered the same fate as his quarry, police said. The 24-year-old man was one of four who went fishing with a cable, one end of which they attached to a net and the other to a high-voltage

# Lubicon Win Boycott Ruling Against Daishowa

In a landmark ruling by an Ontario court, the consumer boycott of forestry multinational Daishowa, launched by Toronto-based Friends of the Lubicon (FoL), was ruled not merely legal but a model of how such activities should be conducted in a democratic society. Dismissing Daishowa's request for a permanent injunction on the boycott, Justice James MacPherson observed that the protection of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms must be extended to protect political expression on issues of public importance. MacPherson said the plight of the Lubicon Cree Nation of northern Alberta is precisely the type of issue that should generate widespread public discussion.

Daishowa is threatening to clearcut the Lubicon's unceded Alberta territory at the rate of up to 11,000 trees per day for a pulp mill. Daishowa-owned Brewster Construction clearcut Lubicon land in 1990, but since the boycott began in 1991, Daishowa has been stopped from logging there.

## Getting SLAPPED

In 1996, Daishowa obtained a temporary court injunction on the boycott. Daishowa's month-long lawsuit, which went to court in September 1997, sought to shut down the consumer boycott forever. The company claimed the boycott cost it an estimated \$14 million in lost revenue.

## David vs. Goliath

The Lubicon are a small aboriginal hunting and trapping society of about

500 people. They have never signed away their land rights. At the trial, Fred Lennarson, longtime advisor to the Lubicon, testified that the massive oil and gas exploitation which started in 1979 has devastated the Lubicon, destroying its hunting and trapping economy. This caused the welfare rate to rise from under 10 percent to over 90 percent by 1983. He also noted the concomitant rise in depression, alcohol abuse and suicide, and conveyed a terrifying litany of health problems suffered since the recent resource exploitation, including cancer, skin rashes, a tuberculosis epidemic, still births, miscarriages and birth defects.

## Leafleting, Picketing and the Legal Argument

During the boycott, FoL handed out flyers in front of stores carrying paper bags made by Daishowa's packaging division. Daishowa contended that these informational leafleting actions constituted secondary picketing since the leafleting was not in front of Daishowa premises, but in front of stores that bought from Daishowa.

Canadian labor law holds that secondary picketing is illegal in a labor dispute. Even though the boycott was not related to a labor dispute, Daishowa argued that the secondary picketing was illegal under this law. Daishowa alleged that the FoL's boycott included threats, intimidation, inducing breach of contract, wrong-

ful interference with economic interests, conspiracy to injure (economically), misrepresentation and defamation.

Daishowa alleged that picketing or the prospect of picketing, harassed, threatened or intimidated companies that carried Daishowa products. However, some of the companies FoL gave information about the Lubicon situation to wrote back saying they were joining the boycott. What's more, other companies that FoL hadn't contacted or picketed joined the boycott. In all, over 47 companies representing more than 4,300 retail outlets across Canada have joined the boycott. Kevin Thomas of FoL testified that the group never stopped anyone from entering a store, that people had a right to know how each company had voted on the Daishowa issue and had a right to choose whether or not to shop at the stores.

## Wrongful Interference with Economic Interests?

The issue of intent is significant. Daishowa claimed that FoL intended to economically harm Daishowa via the boycott. Daishowa claimed the boycott cost its paper bag business \$5 million until the beginning of 1995 and \$3 million a year since then.

In testimony, Thomas and Ed Bianchi of FoL stated that the purpose of the boycott was to encourage Daishowa to make a clear, unequivocal and public commitment to not log or buy wood cut on unceded

Lubicon land until the land rights were settled and until a timber harvesting agreement was negotiated.

## Trial Outcome

While permitting the consumer boycott to proceed, the court imposed some restrictions on the language to be used by FoL in future communications. Observing that FoL's use of the word genocide (to describe the process of cultural destruction in which the Lubicon find themselves) was carefully considered and honestly represented FoL's viewpoint, Justice MacPherson found that the public would not have understood the term to have been used in this sense. He ordered that the word should no longer be used, nor should there be any further reference to Daishowa's alleged breach of an agreement made with the Lubicon in 1988.

Meanwhile, the US-based Lubicon Defense Project is pressuring US West Dex directories to stop printing on paper purchased from Daishowa. US West customers are encouraged to include a letter with each phone bill payment protesting the use of Daishowa paper in the publishing of the directories. For more information contact Friends of the Lubicon at 485 Ridelle Ave., Toronto, ON, M6B 1K6 Canada; (416) 763-7500; fax 603-2715; fol@tao.ca; http://kafka.uvic.ca/~vipirg/SISIS/Lubicon/main.html. Lubicon Defense Project, 5009 46th Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118; (206) 722-5785.

# Dogged by the Mounties in the Great White North

BY GINA LYNN

Over the past three years, Canadians David Barbarash and Darren Thurston have undergone intense police scrutiny. They've had monitoring devices placed in their vehicles and homes; had thousands of e-mail, fax and voice communications intercepted; and had vast amounts of property seized in raids. [See *EF! Journal*, June-July 1997.]

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) had named Darren and David as their prime targets in the investigation of four mail bombs in 1995, and razor blade booby trap letters sent to 27 guide outfitters in 1995-96. The "Militant Direct Action Task Force" claimed responsibility for the mail bombs and the "Justice Department" claimed the razor blade letters.

On March 20, 1997, after listening devices were discovered in and removed from my truck and the apartment in which Darren and I lived, the RCMP executed five search warrants on Darren and David's homes and other places where some of their belongings were stored. Numerous items of personal property were seized under the guise that it may be relevant to the investigation.

Since then, the Crown has successfully applied several times to further detain the seized property. Over time, a few items have been returned. In March of this year, the feds had to choose whether to fight in BC Supreme Court to continue to keep the property (a decision they probably would have lost) or to lay charges. They chose the latter. Recently, the RCMP laid charges against both men in relation to the Justice Department actions.

In the past year, unscrupulous federal agents unveiled an arsenal of dirty tricks to discredit Darren and David. The feds launched a media smear campaign by making the information used to obtain the search warrants available to a slimy reporter who painted a picture of the nonviolent activists as

"violent terrorists," tainting the jury pool if the case goes to trial. The headlines read, "Stalked by Eco-Bombers."

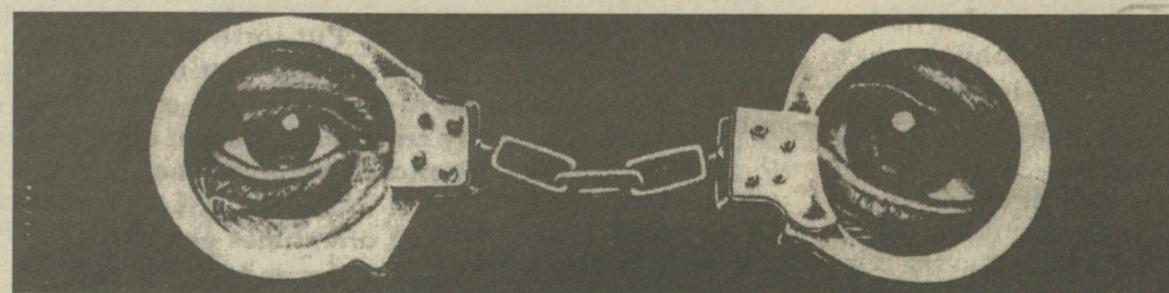
The National Security Investigative Section and the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service have both contacted and visited dozens of people (some numerous times) in Canada, England and the United States. They have attempted to coerce activists to turn against their peers by making up ridiculous stories that would get anyone else sued for defamation.

On June 16, Warren Leigh Ryan, head investigator on the case came to our apartment and told me that Darren killed my dog and that they have it on tape (um, yeah, Darren spent two years in prison for freeing cats from a lab, but he beats dogs... whatever).

In October, Darren attempted to visit England to testify in the GANDALF trial, as mandated by the

Darren was held in custody for about two weeks without bail because of his criminal convictions in Canada (freeing cats from a lab and burning meat trucks five years ago). During his deportation hearing, the district attorney said Darren was being investigated by the FBI as a "threat to national security," but she wasn't sure why. That wasn't good enough for the judge—she issued a "voluntary departure order," which is not as bad as deportation. Darren was escorted by INS officers to a plane bound for Canada on February 7.

David was arrested on March 27, on a warrant sworn out on the one-year anniversary of the raids. Darren returned to Vancouver and turned himself in a couple of days later. They are jointly charged with 27 counts of "sending an explosive or dangerous thing in the mail." David is additionally charged with "possession of an explosive substance" and "possession of a prohibited weapon" (a stun gun). Darren is additionally charged with "impersonation." No charges have been laid in



connection with any of the mail bombs.

Both have been released on their own recognizance with strict bail conditions: They are not allowed to leave BC, must surrender their passports, are not allowed to have contact with each other and must report to RCMP headquarters once a week.

Their next court appearance is May 11, when they enter their pleas. Trials are not likely to happen until 1999.

Please help support our fellow warriors. Send letters of support and donations for their legal defense (earmarked "for Darren and/or David") to the North American ALF Supporters Group, Box 69597, 5845 Yonge St., Willowdale, Ontario, M2M 4K3 Canada.

# ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

BY LACEY PHILLABAUM

May Day, like Casey Neill sings, is a time to "hearken the future and remember the past." Most of us do remember a bit of the pagan history of the holiday (Beltane fertility rituals being as popular as they are). But few Earth First!ers know the other part of the history of May 1—its prominent role in first the American and then the international anarchist and labor movements. By understanding the dual history of the day, we can use it as an emblem of the future that Earth First! should hearken.

The international May Day holiday originated on May 1, 1886, when workers throughout the US engaged in a massive strike for the eight-hour work day. At the strike's center in Chicago, police attacked strikers without provocation. Three days later, a rally in Chicago's Haymarket Square to protest the police abuse was met with further police violence. When the cops tried to forcibly break up the rally, a bomb was thrown into a throng of police, injuring seven cops and killing one.

Hysteria ensued. A wave of repressive measures attempted to destroy the growing labor and anarchist movements. In June, eight union leaders, most of whom were not present when the bomb was thrown, were put on trial for general conspiracy to murder. All were convicted; five hanged.

In 1889, the International Labor Congress declared May 1 International Labor Day, a day to remember the martyrs of Chicago. Today it is a day to celebrate the revolutionary potential of a united working class.

May 1 symbolizes a growing trend within Earth First! to combine the philosophy of Deep Ecology (represented by paganism) and the practice of working-class anarchism (represented by the labor movement). The coalescing theoretical underpinnings of this trend bear strong resemblance to the philosophy of social ecology. Social ecology holds that the cultural structures of hierarchy are models for the secondary hierarchy of human over nature. Through the lens of social ecology, restructuring or demolish-

ing hierarchy is a truly radical environmental act.

For many years, it has been a truism among Earth First!ers that the movement embodies the philosophy of Deep Ecology. Similarly, there is a movement that best embodies social ecology, the environmental justice movement. In the late '90s, federal studies began to document a disturbing phenomena: the disproportionate sighting of hazardous waste facilities in low-income communities and communities of color and negligent environmental enforcement in such communities. For example, Environmental Protection Agency penalties are 500 percent higher in white communities, and cleanup of hazardous sites is 12 to 42 percent slower in communities of color. Such information formed the base of a network of activists outraged by the injustice.

Relatively young, the environmental justice movement is in a formative stage. Coalitions with the movement can feed the hunger among the new generations of Earth First! activists for campaigns that address the inequities of social hierarchies. Likewise, Earth First!ers can share with environmental justice advocates the radical politics and biocentric philosophy that challenge the Not In My Backyard phenomena.

There is a place in biocentrism for concern about the oppression of humans. Our fear of anthropocentrism has prevented us from exploring this arena. Environmental justice gives us the chance to seize it. In that spirit, the following section explores the notion that ecological activism has a place in the city and humans have a place in the wild.

need to develop strategies that combine protest, direct action and ecological reconstruction. A movement opposing further degradation of the urban environment is necessary but insufficient. We also need to take direct action to physically reconstruct urban communities along ecological lines. Vacant lots must be recreated as gardens and parks, and abandoned buildings must be rehabilitated. Environmental justice must expand its focus beyond the prevention of toxic dumping and opposition to incineration, by incorporating issues of justice that relate to the conditions of everyday life and an expanded understanding of what constitutes direct action. In the urban setting, it means the seizure of vacant properties and their development through the efforts of people who will make use of them.

There is a long tradition in this country and throughout Europe and Latin America of urban squatting and urban gardening. In the 1970s, I had the opportunity to work in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in New York's Lower East Side where the community, through a network of grassroots organizations, began to take control of its physical space. People used a process known as sweat-equity urban homesteading to seize abandoned buildings and rebuild them as low-income housing cooperatives. Sweat equity means people use their own labor as the source of capital needed to rehabilitate the abandoned buildings. In the process people not only built decent housing for themselves but also learned energy-efficient building techniques and made use of solar and wind energy.

These were ecological projects. They focused on the physical environment of the neighborhood, they took an environmental problem (abandoned buildings and rubble-strewn vacant lots) and turned them into a resource for the community (decent, energy

efficient low-income housing and community parks and gardens). Such projects are usually overlooked by the movement for environmental justice. They are an example of direct action and community empowerment that is well expressed by the motto of Charas, one of the groups involved in these projects, "Doing more with less."

The MOVE organization in Philadelphia represents another example of this approach to transforming the urban environment. As part of their work for a revolutionary reconstruction of society, they tried to introduce natural processes into the city, such as composting and other forms of natural living. Until the ecology movement comes to terms with issues of

importance to inner-city people, it will remain a predominantly white, middle-class movement. We must embrace these urban issues and give them the same kind of attention we give to saving the redwoods, the rainforest or endangered species.

The bulk of the world's population lives in cities. While the deep ecologists' call to abandon cities and live as hunters and gatherers makes for beautiful poetry, the social consequences of such development, the human suffering that would be engendered, would be horrific indeed. We cannot turn our backs on 80 percent of the population of the United States, nor on ten thousand years of cultural evolution. We can, however, ecologize our cities. Social ecology suggests that we must do just that.

An urban movement must combine a concern for environmental justice with a call for social justice. The two are really inseparable, and one cannot be achieved without the other. The movement must be non-hierarchical, mutualistic and must incorporate the principles of diversity, spontaneity and homeostasis. From the perspective of social ecology, these principles derived from our observation and analysis of nonhuman nature must inform any attempt at ecological activism in the urban environment. Ultimately our direct action in urban reconstruction must be linked to a political strategy like libertarian municipalism, which would create neighborhood assemblies as the participatory means for governing our communities and confederate the assemblies to coordinate our actions. A combination of grassroots, ecologically oriented community development and this new approach to politics represent our best hope for achieving environmental and social justice.

## The Urban Ecosystem

BY DANIEL CHODORKOFF

When ecological activists talk about direct action on behalf of the environment, more often than not what comes to mind are actions to save the ancient forest, efforts to stop whaling or strategies to confront the nuclear crisis. But there is another tradition of environmental direct action as well, one too often ignored—direct action in the urban environment. Ecological issues in the city are not confined to concerns about air quality, water pollution or traffic congestion. Urban ecology concerns itself with the environment where people live, the point where the natural world melds into the built environment.

The urban environment of the inner city is a world of concrete, vacant lots and abandoned buildings—a place where human needs intersect with the realities of capitalism. The relationships of domination and oppression, the human hierarchies that are the hallmark of capitalism, are nowhere more starkly on display than in the urban environment. When working on ecological issues in the urban context, activists need to expand the definition of what constitutes an ecological issue. We need to apply the holistic thinking that is the great strength of an ecological perspective to the built environments that constitute, for the most part, the ecology of the city. If there is a place where humanity most appears to dominate the rest of nature, it is in the city. Cities must be understood ecologically, as complex organisms or ecosystems, places where nonhuman and human nature intersect. When we speak of the urban environment we must include those elements of the city which seem, in some ways, the antithesis of nature.

Therefore our approach to movement building in the city must, if it is to be effective, be ecological on at least three interrelated levels. First of all we must

develop an ecological analysis of urban problems. We must be holistic in our thinking and recognize the connections between seemingly disparate issues like housing, education, water pollution, health care, economics, violence, solid waste and food security. All of these issues, and others, are symptomatic of a deeper malaise, one that is systemic in nature and rooted in institutions and attitudes predicated on hierarchy and domination. We need to recognize that our futile attempts to dominate nature are outgrowths of the human relationships of domination that give structure to the culture of capitalism. The rule of rich over poor, men over women, whites over people of color and heterosexuals over gays creates what Murray Bookchin terms, "an epistemology of rule," which is a precondition for the attempt to dominate the rest of the natural world.

A second criteria of an effective urban environmental movement requires that we expand our understanding of what constitutes the urban environment and include issues like housing, open space and community economic development. Millions of people live everyday in environments that constitute a direct threat to the health and safety of their inhabitants. The creation of decent, affordable and energy-efficient housing is an ecological issue of the highest magnitude. The empowerment of communities to make crucial decisions about the placement of incinerators or sewage treatment plants, to make determinations about how to use vacant lots or abandoned buildings are all ecological issues too.

Community empowerment must be the starting point of effective ecological organizing in the city. In the process of achieving such empowerment, we



Riding in front of Love Canal

# Radical Gardening in NYC

BY BILL BROWN

The heart and soul of any city are its public spaces, especially New York because it's so large and populous. Everything else, of course, is private property, and access to and use of it are forbidden to everyone but its owners and their guests.

There are all kinds of public spaces in New York, and all of them are under fierce and sustained attack these days: the parks (closings, curfews and surveillance cameras); the streets (pedestrian barricades, tickets for jaywalking and the demonization of bicycle riders); the lamp-posts and walls (posters and handbills are "graffiti" and are therefore prohibited); the sidewalks (harassment and arrest of artists selling their work); the subway stations (harassment and arrest of buskers); etc., etc., *ad nau-seam*. Lumped together, these attacks on the free use of public space are called "the quality of life campaign" by the crypto-fascist Republican mayor with national political aspirations, Rudolph Giuliani.

But by far the most insidious attacks are being mounted against those properties owned by the City of New York and administered by the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD): abandoned buildings, and abandoned and empty lots. Since most of these properties have been on the city rolls for many years, there has been sufficient time for local activists to band together and collectively transform the empty and sealed buildings into homesteads (or "squats") and the empty and garbage-strewn lots into community gardens. These transformations are of relevance for radical environmentalists everywhere, for they show that it is possible for relatively large numbers of people in American cities to rediscover and maintain a direct connection with the Earth.

Today there are approximately 750 community gardens in New York City and nearly 85 are located in the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The oldest of New York's surviving community gardens were created in the mid-1970s, when HPD began amassing a huge portfolio of unused real estate as a result of economic recession, "urban blight," "white flight" to the suburbs, arson, forfeiture and abandonment. Rather than allowing these "warehoused" properties to remain either totally unused or used only by drug dealers, addicts, prostitutes and trash dumpers, pioneers such as Adam Purple and "the Purple People," creators of the now legendary "Garden of Eden," used direct action to get the goods in spectacularly neglected areas like Harlem, the South Bronx, Staten Island, Brooklyn and the Lower East Side.

In 1984, one year before the city destroyed it to make room for low-income housing, the Garden of Eden, a huge circle in whose center spun a yin-yang symbol, encompassed five city lots in the Lower East Side, included 45 fruit and nut trees, and was featured in *National Geographic*. It attracted tourists from all over the world. Adam Purple himself was, and still is, no less formidable: Until his eviction in March 1998, he lived as a squatter in a neighboring abandoned building, without such "necessities" as gas, electricity and running water for almost 20 years. Ted Kaczynski (minus the bombs) in the middle of Manhattan, Adam Purple has done more to undermine the foundations of modern technological capitalism than the Unabomber ever could.

In the 1980s, a crucial deal was brokered between HPD and the community board of the Lower East Side. Under this agreement, the city allowed non-profit groups to develop abandoned and HPD-administered buildings in the Lower East Side for use as low- and moderate-income housing units. In exchange, HPD won rights to expeditiously sell off all of its vacant lots in the Lower East Side and to allow construction of housing units upon them.

Under this plan, 80 percent of all new housing units were to be rented at "market-rates," while the remaining 20 percent were to be rented at subsidized prices affordable by low-income individuals

and families. "The aim," Robert Fitch wrote in *The Assassination of New York*, "is to get rid of large numbers of poor people and replace them with smaller numbers of middle-class people." A handful of wealthy people raises the city's tax base higher than a much larger group of poor people; the wealthy require fewer subsidized social services than the poor; and a few yuppie scum are far less likely to riot, burn and loot than a mass of the working poor.

Because so many of the lots that the city thought to be "empty" were in fact community gardens, this plan marked the beginning of the intense battles currently being waged over the gardens.

With the 1992 election of Rudolph Giuliani, New York's first Republican mayor in many years, a great deal changed quickly in the city. A very cozy relationship developed between HPD and the New York City Housing Partnership, a subsidiary of the New York City Partnership. (Founded by David Rockefeller in 1982, the NYC Partnership absorbed the city's Chamber of Commerce in the late 1980s and is now one of the city's most powerful nongovernmental organizations.)

After ten years of activity in greater New York City, the Housing Partnership began to turn its rapacious attention upon the Lower East Side. In late 1996, it proposed a project called Del Este Village (The East Village in Spanglish). Del Este Village calls for the construction of nine different four-story condominiums in a tiny area of the Lower East Side. To build these nine condos, a total of seven community gardens would have to be destroyed.

In response to this threat, a number of small but

## ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

very committed activist groups were formed. Radical gardeners from the Lower East Side's not-for-profit Earth Celebrations group joined with gardeners from all over the city to form the NYC Coalition for the Preservation of the Gardens, which hired attorneys and pursued challenges to Del Este Village in court. Activists from a variety of progressive social movements came together to form the Lower East Side Coalition (LESC), which includes subgroups focused upon the related issues of community gardens and affordable housing. While the Preservation Coalition fought in the courts, the LESC used wheatpasting, tabling and standing on street corners to distribute information.

The LESC also used the names and addresses it collected on its sign-up sheets to generate the list of garden activists with access to a modem and computer that later came to be known as the E-Mail Army. When sent the word to go into action, the E-Mail Army, numbering nearly 140 people, gets on their telephones and fax machines and inundates a set of targets (city bureaucrats and politicians) with messages about saving the community gardens from destruction. The "fax jam," sending the same message over and over again to a single fax machine and using really large letters so that each individual message takes up as many pages as possible, became a specialty. It was such a successful technique that

the organizer of the E-Mail Army was arrested in October 1997 for "harassment."

During this period, the Chico Mendez Mural Garden was sealed, barricaded and renamed "Fort Chico Mendez." Established in 1992, the Chico Mendez was a most unusual community garden. Not only was it named (somewhat inaccurately) for the murdered Brazilian rainforest activist Chico Mendez, it was also surrounded by a truly exquisite and varied collection of spray-painted graffiti and hand-painted murals.

All of these efforts forestalled the destruction of four of the seven community gardens threatened by Del Este Village until December 30, 1997. Donald Capoccia, the real estate developer who was allowed to steal the four community gardens for a total of \$39,000 and who is a generous donor to the coffers of Rudy Giuliani (so much

so the mayor was forced to return several thousand dollars), was present at the destruction of the Chico Mendez garden. He is a great opponent as he is a great figure of urban evil: He lives in a building intended to be rented to low-income individuals and families, an arrangement brought about by the building's project manager, one Donald Capoccia!

Ever since the destruction of the Chico Mendez Garden, the Fort Sumter of the garden movement, important events have been happening with increasing frequency. On New Year's Day, two garden activists penetrated the mayor's closed-to-the-public inauguration and unfurled a banner that read, "Save the Gardens," while chanting, "Giuliani whacked the gardens!" On January 5, 1998, nearly 100 protesters rallied in front of the offices of the New York City Partnership; four chained themselves together and succeeded in totally snarling downtown traffic for over an hour.

On February 20, Donald Capoccia served a garden activist with a \$2 million defamation of character lawsuit. (The suit was quickly dropped.) On February 23, Capoccia had one of the Chico Mendez gardeners arrested for "trespassing" on "his property" after she retrieved some bulbs from the remains of the garden. The arrest prompted the LESC to hold weekly and very noisy protests right in front of Capoccia's apartment.

Unfortunately, all through this very intense period of attack and counterattack, several more community gardens have been auctioned to real estate developers. The Rodriguez Community Garden, *Jardin de la Esperanza* and *El Bello Amanecer Borinqueno* are still threatened with imminent demolition. Spring 1998 thus finds the Lower East Side garden movement at a critical juncture: If the tide is to be turned, it must be turned now.

**Friends:** Earth Celebrations/NYC Coalition for the Preservation of the Gardens, 638 East 6th Street, NYC 10009; (212) 777-7969. Lower East Side Collective, 279 E. Houston St., #3C, NYC 10002; (212) 774-4192; <http://home.earthlink.net/~aliceme/lesc/lesc.htm>.

**Foes:** HPD, Richard Roberts, (212) 863-6100, fax 267-2565. NYC Housing Partnership, Veronica White; (212) 493-7400, fax 344-3344. Donald Capoccia; (212) 722-3671, fax 534-5021.



# CHESTER

## A Community Fights Back

BY MIKE EWALL

Charles Lee, chair of the Environmental Protection Agency's environmental justice advisory committee, called it the worst case of environmental racism he's ever seen. Lee, who has been active in environmental justice issues for over 17 years, was talking about the city of Chester, Pennsylvania.

Just 15 miles southwest of Philadelphia, Chester is home to 43,000 residents and one of the largest collections of waste facilities in the country. Sixty-five percent of Chester residents are African-American, as are 95 percent of residents in the neighborhoods closest to the facilities. The poverty rate lies at 25 percent, three times the national average.

The fourth largest garbage-burning incinerator in the nation is directly across the street from residential houses in Chester's west end. The incinerator was originally operated by Westinghouse but was turned over to American Ref-Fuel in early 1997. Over half the waste burned there is from out of state and comes from New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware, as well as from all over Pennsylvania.

Though the plant has had several air emissions and odor violations, few penalties have been assessed by the state. In 1993, a highly radioactive pellet of cesium-137, part of the equipment that is supposed to monitor the plant for radiation, was lost. The community wasn't notified until many months after the fact. The pellet was either vaporized in the incinerator or melted down in the steel plant of one of Westinghouse's contractors. Now, it's either in the air as ash or is part of the metal consumer products manufactured by Lukens Steel Company. No fines were assessed.

Literally next door to the incinerator lies the largest infectious and chemotherapeutic medical waste autoclave in the nation, Thermal Pure Systems. Currently shut down and recently sold, Thermal Pure brought in about three times the amount of medical waste produced in Pennsylvania. Waste was trucked in, sterilized and shipped back out to a landfill near Harrisburg. While operating, it wasn't unusual to find medical waste lying in the grass outside the boundaries of the plant where children are free to play.

In July 1995, Thermal Pure let 33 truckloads of medical waste sit, unrefrigerated, in the baking sun for four days during a plant shutdown. Legally, Thermal Pure is only allowed to leave waste in such conditions for 24 hours. Also against regulations, the company failed to notify the state Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) of the shutdown, and when residents notified DEP, Thermal Pure officials claimed the trucks could not be moved because of the potential health hazard.

A stone's throw away from the Thermal Pure plant lies the DELCORA sewage treatment facility. DELCORA treats about 90 percent of the sewage from Delaware County, which accounts for 20 percent of its capacity. The other 80 percent comes from local industries in Chester, like the Sunoco and British Petroleum (now Tosco) refineries that span the western horizon, and from Scott Paper and Witco Chemical. This highly toxic industrial sludge is burned in DELCORA's sludge incinerator, releasing many pollutants, including high levels of arsenic, found by the EPA at unsafe levels in the community. Sludge from three other county sewage plants is also burned in DELCORA's incinerator.

As if this weren't enough, Chester is also home to many other chemical companies, hospital incinerators, trash transfer stations and hazardous waste treatment facilities. Just east of the city lies PECO Energy's Eddystone coal plant. On the west side lie the Marcus Hook oil refineries and more chemical companies.

In recent years, two companies

have proposed to bring contaminated soil (mostly petroleum and lead-laden soil from leaky underground gas storage tanks) into Chester. Soil Remediation Services (SRS) and Cherokee Environmental Group planned to treat 900 and 960 tons of soil per day respectively, the first burning the soil and releasing the pollution into Chester's air, and the second using a bio-remediation technology. Thankfully, SRS's air pollution permit expired in November 1996, effectively killing the project unless SRS reappeals.

Due to their close proximity to each other, one might think that the two largest plants in Chester (American Ref-Fuel and Thermal Pure) were part of the same company. In a way, they are. The citizens group Chester Residents Concerned for Quality Living (CRCQL) figured out that there is one company connected to a string of facilities bringing waste to Chester. Careful research uncovered that the land under the two plants is owned by the Pittsburgh-based investment firm, Russell, Rea and Zappala (RR&Z), as is the property of the LCA Leasing trash transfer station, a rock crushing plant and the proposed SRS soil burner. RR&Z's corporate officers, Andrew Russell and Donald Rea, serve as executive officers of the various facilities. Charles Zappala's older brother, Stephen Zappala, is a Supreme Court justice in Pennsylvania, which came in handy when Chester residents took Thermal Pure to court for accepting over 10 times the legally allowable amount of medical waste (which DEP had okayed). When citizens won in a lower court, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court used an archaic law called King's Bench Rule to overturn the lower court's ruling, allowing the facility to run again.

So does all of this constitute racism? Is it just a matter of classism, where poor communities tend to end up with most of society's waste?

Many studies have shown that waste facilities (particularly hazardous and nuclear waste facilities) tend to be located in communities of color, above and beyond class considerations. When factoring out the economic class of a community, race is still shown to be a significant factor. Middle-class communities of color will end up with more waste facilities than poor white communities do.

The response to CRCQL has highlighted these racist undertones. Its office has been broken into twice. Once the walls inside were magic-markered with graffiti, including "KKK." Threats have been left on the group's answering machine. Activists routinely find their tires slashed.

When American Ref-Fuel took over the operations of the municipal waste incinerator, many experienced local black workers were fired or demoted while white employees from the corporation's other plants in New Jersey and New York were bussed in to staff the facility. One black person who had worked at the plant for six years was told he wasn't qualified for the job. Thirty employees have filed legal complaints.

In one protest where Chester residents physically blocked waste trucks from entering the waste complex, a protester was intentionally hit by a truck. When the regular truck driver showed solidarity with the protesters and turned his truck around, the president of the trucking company, Steven Ogborne, got into the truck and drove it back to the plant, speeding through a line of protesters. Ogborne Waste Removal, a local waste company with recycling operations in Chester, is now pursuing an expansion of its operations in order to bring construction and demolition wastes into the city.

Theoretically, Ogborne's expansion is illegal under Chester's zoning ordinance (the first of its kind in the nation) banning industrial facilities from doing business in Chester unless they prove they will not create a net increase in pollution. Ogborne's plans clearly violate this ordinance, yet the DEP is considering

granting a permit anyway. Similarly, Soil Remediation Services' plant (to be built on the RR&Z trash complex) was permitted by the DEP in 1995, even though the permit violated the ordinance as well.

Fed up with the DEP's complicity with industry and lack of enforcement in Chester, CRCQL sued the state in May 1996 for environmental racism under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Since the DEP receives money from the federal Environmental Protection Agency, it "shall not use criteria or methods of administering its program which have the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination because of their race, color, national origin or sex." The lawsuit contends that the state discriminated against the black community when DEP did not consider the racial makeup of Chester or the number of existing facilities when permitting the city's fifth waste treatment plant. This is the first lawsuit of its kind. Two previous suits in Michigan and in North Carolina fought single facilities, rather than a group of them.

The lawsuit, while still in the courts, has pressured DEP to prove it isn't systematically approving any waste facility targeted for Chester. In October 1997, DEP denied a permit to Cherokee for its proposed contaminated soil bioremediation plant. This was the first time that DEP denied a pollution permit to a corporation targeting Chester. The official reasons for the denial relied heavily on a corporate noncompliance history exposed by citizen activists.

On December 30, 1997, a federal appeals court upheld the environmental racism suit (previously dismissed in a lower court) and backed the Chester residents' assertions that they do not have to prove intentional discrimination was at play. Given the green light, the lawsuit against the state will proceed, and only a discriminatory effect on the part of the agency needs to be shown. This serves as a precedent-setting legal victory for communities throughout the entire nation.

On average, since CRCQL's inception, one new polluter per year has proposed a plant in Chester. CRCQL's 1997 defeat of a proposed pet crematorium, combined with the defeat of both proposed soil remediation plants, represents three defeated facilities in the span of a year. 1997 also brought the aforementioned legal victory and a settlement with the DELCORA sludge plant. The DELCORA settlement requires extensive plant improvements and also will fund a new children's lead poisoning prevention program in the community. Despite this banner year of victories, the community must still fight the newly proposed expansion of the Ogborne plant and plans by the American Ref-Fuel incinerator to expand its waste storage capacity and burn more hazardous types of waste.

In February 1996, students from Delaware County's Swarthmore College held a conference about environmental racism in Chester. Close to 60 students from 15 universities spanning five states attended. By the end of the weekend, the Campus Coalition Concerning Chester (C-4) was born. C-4 members have brought protests to the headquarters of the RR&Z firm in Pittsburgh, to the DEP and state capital on Earth Day '96, and to the Delaware State Solid Waste Authority (which sends most of its waste to the American Ref-Fuel plant in Chester). C-4 has helped Chester residents with research, computer and technical support, lobbying for environmental justice legislation, door-to-door canvassing in Chester and increased campus awareness. Schools that send garbage or medical waste to Chester are focusing on campus waste prevention and recycling.

Students at Drexel University have done an excellent documentary on Chester called "Laid to Waste—A Chester community fights for its future," which aired on PBS. It has been helpful in getting African-American and anti-racism groups involved in this issue. For information on obtaining the video or on how you can become involved in the Chester campaign or the Student Environmental Action Coalition from which it grew, contact:

Chester Residents Concerned for Quality Living, 2731 W. 3rd St., Chester, PA 19013; (215) 752-1202; catalyst@envirolink.org; <http://www.penweb.org/chester/>.

# ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

# WILDERNESS: WITH OR WITHOUT YOU

continued from front page

Both industrialism and preservationism see nature essentially in mechanical terms. Either nature is so perfectly engineered that any human interference would only result in inefficiencies or deficiencies in the system; or human interference, as in industrial resource use, can be compensated for by corrective engineering. If we destroy one part, we only have to find a replacement, like the interchangeable parts of modern machinery. Universally valid scientific laws, felt to lie behind all surface phenomena, will tell us how to re-engineer nature so that all the parts fit together.

## Reciprocity—Not Wilderness!

"When people don't use the plants, they get scarce. You must use them so they will come up again. All plants are like that. If they're not gathered from or talked to or cared about, they'll die."

These are the words of Mabel McKay, Makahma Pomo elder and basket weaver. Mabel represents an indigenous tradition that is in direct opposition to the dominant Western conservation ethic. In her simple exhortation to "take care of the plants," she points out an alternative to the legacy of 19th-century transcendentalism that still controls modern environmental thinking.

Plants need people as much as people need plants. This is the meaning of reciprocity. The indigenous world lies fully within nature, not wilderness. There is no Indian word for wilderness, in the sense of people separate from nature. Traditionally, indigenous people have felt at home in nature. John Muir viewed "wild" nature as a sacred place in the sense that natural theology teaches, but nature was not necessarily felt to be home. Thoreau was uncomfortable in the wilderness of the Maine woods. He preferred the cultivated, almost "pre-suburban" landscape of his native Massachusetts. Transcendentalists viewed "wilderness" as a temporary spiritual recharging station, a refuge from the stresses of the industrial mode of existence, much like modern urban environmentalists who backpack into wilderness parks for a couple of weeks for the spiritual and aesthetic experience. But now listen to Mihilakawna Pomo elder and basket weaver Lucy Smith, recalling her mother's teachings: "We had many relatives and... we all had to live together, so we'd better learn how to get along with each other. She said it wasn't too hard to do; it was just like taking care of your younger brother or sister. If you took good care of them you didn't have to work as hard... You know, I thought she was talking about us Indians and how we are supposed to get along. I found out later that mother wasn't just talking about Indians, but the plants, animals, birds—everything on this earth. They are our relatives, and we better know how to act around them, or they'll get after us."

## Indigenous People and Dirt Bikers

Locking up traditional lands and treaty lands in wilderness preserves and parks, coupled with the forced relocation of indigenous people, has seriously disrupted or prevented traditions from carrying on subsistence livelihood and their care-taking responsibilities. In the "multiple use" land philosophy of public agencies, Native people are just another "user group" lumped with Boy Scouts and dirt bikers. Environmental organizations with their "wilderness" philosophy have played a major role in the disruption of traditional land stewardship. Some examples of this philosophy in action are:

- The forced relocation of the native Aweeneechee people when Yosemite National Park was established.

- The Nature Conservancy's 1975 purchase of 22,000 acres out from under Granada del Valle, a Chicano rural development project in Los Ojos, New Mexico. The good stewardship practiced by local communities was ignored in order to "preserve biodiversity" within the acquired land.

- The 1987 legislation to form El Malpais National Monument in New Mexico. This purchase included 13,000 acres considered to be ancestral lands of the Acoma Pueblo. The Sierra Club and National Wildlife Federation lobbied for the bill, ignoring the cultural claims of the Acoma Pueblo.

- The refusal of the Sierra Club to support indigenous claims to ancestral lands at Sinkyone on Cape Mendocino in California.

## Coyote and the Monkey Wrench Gang

"When people don't use the plants they get scarce" is more than a metaphor; it is a biological fact rooted in a basic truth of nature—change. Decay, death, birth and growth are the stuff of ordinary existence and the stuff of which the universe is made. There is always an element of uncertainty in change. There is a reason many tribes consider Coyote to be the Creator of the world. Coyote is capricious and unpredictable. Some tribes in western Washington call the Creator simply "Changer."

Only recently have a few forest research scientists discovered that forest ecosystems need periodic disturbance to maintain forest health. Coyote has snuck into the BLM and Forest Service computers, disrupting

the steady-state notion that nature is unchanging unless disturbed. This is real "monkeywrenching" at the conceptual level. Phrases like "mimicking natural processes," "ignorance of complex ecosystem interactions," and "the whole is more than the sum of the parts" are being thrown around.

It is not just change that is important but rather the ecologically appropriate kind and rate of change. Over-harvesting and under-harvesting, overgrazing, under-grazing, catastrophic wildfires or slash fires, and total fire exclusion, are all inappropriate. Certain practices or concepts may lead to a kind of "ecological stability" at the landscape or watershed level, but it is a stability poised as pre-

cariously as a snowball in a bonfire. Concepts like biodiversity, diverse wildlife habitats and uneven-aged/multilayered forest structure are some of the current working concepts in the field of "new forestry" which are meant to give forest ecosystems a measure of resiliency in the face of repeated disturbances. A few public land agencies are now beginning a process of determining how much and what kind of disturbance is required to maintain stability.

## Indigenous People and Fire

It is easy to blame historic over-harvesting for the current state of imbalance and to conclude, as preservationists do, that if the forest had never been disturbed in the first place, nature would have taken care of herself. What would the forests of southwestern Oregon and northwestern California have looked like if no timber harvesting had ever taken place? We need only look at places where old growth has been undisturbed. We could assume that these few remaining old-growth stands are "natural," except that two significant historical factors are missing: indigenous people and periodic low-intensity fires.

Both have been legally excluded from the forest.

The pre-European forests of interior southwestern Oregon at low to middle elevations were probably varied and healthy, maintained by frequent light ground fires which served as periodic disturbances. Such fires were set mostly by local Indian people (Shasta, Takelma, Karuk) in order to enhance food and fiber production and gathering and hunting.

The native grasses and pine-needle litter carried the light ground fires without burning the whole forest down. Native grasses created a permeable forest surface, enabling entire watersheds to soak up water like a sponge. They checked surface erosion and enhanced soil fertility by continually decomposing feeder roots. They also prevented woody plant invasion through severe root competition for water and nutrients.

Unmanaged (preserved) forests are no more healthy than forests that have been clearcut. Insect and disease epidemics are sweeping through southwestern Oregon, seemingly unable to distinguish crowded second growth from crowded old growth. Historically controlled burning and constant intervention by people produced a kind of precarious balance or ecological stability that acknowledged change as a fundamental feature of nature, and worked with and directed natural processes, especially fire.

## The Fire Mosaic

The best model that we have of competent land management is the tens-of-thousands-year-old Native American management style. Traditionally, Indians (usually the older women) cleared small openings in the forest and maintained them by prescription fire. The late summer to late fall fires stimulated fresh deer and elk forage, and native foods like bunch-grasses, clovers, forbs and bulbs. When stored food supplies were running low in midwinter, before the salmon and steelhead runs began, deer came to these meadows to feed. Some were killed for food.

Different places were burned at different times, with varying intervals between fires. In this way a mosaic of vegetation types and plant communities was created. Only the arroyos, riparian borders and flats were heavily wooded and uniformly shady. On the slopes and ridges and in the valleys, the land was open and park-like. Since southwest Oregon was heavily populated with Indians and since Indians utilized hundreds of plants and animals from virtually every biotic type, most forest lands were burned at one time or another. The average burning interval was about eight years.

Most Indian burning has ceased in North America. Periodic, low-intensity fires that regularly disturbed the forest and helped create the incredible biodiversity and productive soils enthusiastically described by nearly every traveler who left a written account are almost gone.

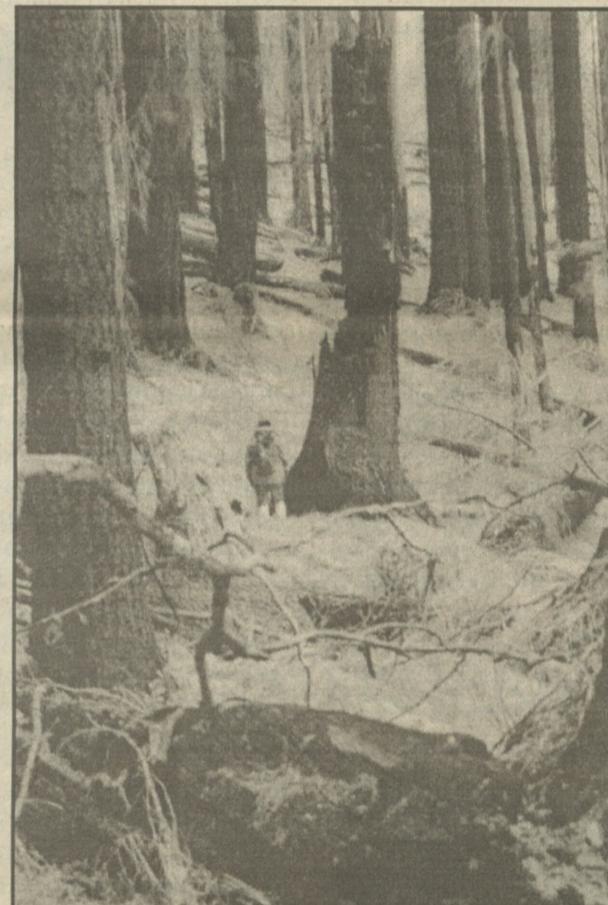
## The Spirit of Changer

The North America that European peoples invaded and settled was not a "virgin" land undisturbed by people. There was no "pristine wilderness" here. Prairie and forest were to a large extent the creation of indigenous peoples. The main justification by Europeans for genocide—that land was not used to its productive potential by its Native inhabitants—was false.

Decay, death, birth and growth—a constantly changing life—was a reality well understood by Native peoples. Fire, along with wind and water, were the material or "seen" manifestations of the Creator—the spirit of Changer. Indian people worked in harmony with Changer as well as all other relatives when they used fire as a management tool. But you have to be careful with fire. Fire is like Coyote. Fire destroys as well as creates. But then isn't death really the same as life?

Aho!

*Author's note: I have personally seen only one example of a pre-contact ecosystem not changed for the worse. That is the Walpole Island Reserve in Lake St. Clair, the Michigan-Ontario boundary. Ojibway, Potawatomi and Ottawa peoples (Three Fires) have never stopped burning. They continue to burn over 4,400 acres of tallgrass prairie/oak savannah on a regular basis. If there is any doubt left about the relationship between burning and biodiversity, than consider this fact: Every one of Ontario's 60-plus endangered plants can be found at Walpole Island in considerable quantity!*



The Warner Creek burn area in Oregon

# Mortality in the Allegheny

BY JIM KLEISSLER

As springtime nears, a human clan called the Hellbenders (which takes its name after the aggressive, never-afraid-to-bite salamander *Cryptobranchus alleganiensis*) are preparing to resist the continued rise of the global corporate empire. To find the Hellbender resistance look to the place where the central Appalachians meet the northern forests and where the Great Lakes of Turtle Island approach the wildlands of the mid-Atlantic coast. This is where wild elk roam with coyotes, fishers, black bears and Indiana bats. And it's where the majestic Eastern hemlock braces the skyline with American beech, Northern red oak, black birch, white pine and black cherry. These wild forests are in the process of recovering from corporate rape 100 years ago.

On the Allegheny National Forest in Pennsylvania, this threat has taken form as a salvage logging plan called Mortality II. Luckily, the project was stopped when a band of Hellbenders organized and brought their plea to the courts. We succeeded in stopping the destruction of 5,000 acres of land... until now.

Mortality II is back with a vengeance. The US Forest Service has reintroduced the Mortality II mega-project as the East Side Project. It's called the East Side Project because it will thoroughly destroy nearly the entire eastern portion of the Allegheny National Forest.

It calls for cutting 10,000 acres of forest in a 90,000-

acre area (one-fifth the entire Allegheny National Forest). At least 4,000 acres (nearly seven square miles) will be clearcut and another 5,000 acres will suffer even-aged thinning cuts (i.e. pre-clearcut "weeding"). Logging plans include clearcutting areas previously protected in order to "grow old-growth forests!" But that's not all. Plans include logging in a 600-acre roadless area (that's big for the Allegheny).

The East Side Project also calls for the use of RoundUp (Monsanto) and Oust (DuPont) as part of an effort to transform our wild Eastern hemlock, white pine and American beech forest into a tree farm for black cherry cash crop. The East Side Project will use these herbicides on over 4,000 acres of forest.

Even though the Forest Service boasts that the Allegheny is already 95 percent accessible by roads, the East Side Project calls for reconstructing 65 miles of roads and building 35 miles of new ones.

Hellbender activists have already set out for the woods in an effort to shift paradigms towards road ripping instead of road construction. We've begun to document "ghost" roads and road problems. This is a key time to push for obliteration of wasteful and destructive old roads.

Right now things are heated in the Allegheny. Soon we will be receiving word on a lawsuit to protect the Minister Creek and South Branch Willow Creek areas of the forest. If we get a bad decision, logging will continue at Minister Creek (50 percent cut already)

and begin at South Branch Willow Creek.

The East Side Project's public comment period is now open. We need to storm the Forest Service with letters, postcards, phone calls, faxes, e-mails and other creative protest! Send letters of protest to John Palmer, Forest Supervisor, Allegheny National Forest, POB 847, Warren, PA 16365; (814) 723-5150; anf@penn.com.

Contact the Allegheny Defense Project to get our action alerts and updates on the East Side/Mortality II mega-thievery and other goings on. Join us for our Allegheny Working Campout on May 7-9. Get in touch with us to help establish a basecamp to coordinate both forest monitoring and creative demonstrating. Contact the Allegheny Defense Project at POB 245, Clarion, PA 16214; (814) 226-4918; adp@envirolink.org.



photo courtesy of the Allegheny Defense Project

Closer to ending timber sales in the Allegheny

## Cove/Mallard Will Rest This Summer

BY GARY, NAT AND SLUG

The Jack and Noble timber sales have been cut, palpable and tragic losses. Yet over 80 percent of Cove/Mallard remains wild. It appears there will be no cutting this coming summer because the federal listing of steelhead as threatened has delayed the paperwork. Clinton's roadbuilding moratorium, if implemented, would also prevent any logging in the area as the next Cove/Mallard sale, Lone Park, requires roadbuilding before logging can begin. The Forest Service is nervous. We have delayed the sales for so long that new environmental analyses may be required, spelling potential doom for the remaining sales.

Last summer, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals wrote a one-sentence rejection of the Idaho Sporting Congress' (ISC) case to halt the remaining Cove/Mallard timber sales. Most court decisions give reasons and use lengthy, boring language. The court didn't, however, suddenly become succinct; it just couldn't come up with arguments against the ISC.

There is a silver lining in the decision. It is not a precedent, and we can always file another lawsuit. Yahoo.

We can't count on these measures, of course, so we will be back in Cove/Mallard this summer, doing extensive monitoring and documentation. The Forest Service, not surprisingly, has failed to adequately

survey the old growth, wildlife and fisheries. Plus, we need to document the damage that has been done to strengthen future litigation efforts.

And there still is direct action to be done. Mackey Day and Otter-Wing are two heinous timber sales planned in the roadless area complex that contains Cove/Mallard. These sales will adversely affect listed steelhead and soon-to-be listed bull trout, as well as important spring and summer range for other wildlife. Some of the roads to these sales were built last summer, and the sales were sold before the roadbuilding moratorium took effect so roading will continue this summer.

But wait, there's more... The Middle Fork timber sale, above the Middle Fork Clearwater River is also an inventoried roadless area, containing steelhead and bull trout habitat. Sale planners skirted the roadbuilding issue by choosing to helicopter log. But as the Biological Assessment for the sale notes, the area is dominated by steep to very steep slopes that have a "high slope stability hazard (read: landslides)."

And that's not all! These are only three of several sales planned in the Greater Salmon-Selway ecosystem this summer: There's also the Fish Bate sale in northern Idaho, which would level old growth in order to reduce "fire risk," and the Upper Swiftwater sale, planned in a roadless area near the Middle Fork sale.

Don't be fooled by Clinton's roadless area policy; it only affects a fraction of the timber sales in Idaho.

So come to Idaho, help save the Big Wild and expose the lie of the roadless moratorium. The Cove/Mallard basecamp will be open all summer, beginning with the Northwest Rendezvous May 23-25. Throughout the summer, activists will offer orientation and training for newcomers interested in learning about the Salmon-Selway ecosystem. Workshops will include stream sedimentation surveys, timber sale monitoring, nonviolence training, a ropes course, navigation skills and the history and future of Cove/Mallard.

For more information, contact the Cove/Mallard Coalition at POB 8968, Moscow, Idaho 83843; (208) 882-9755; cove@moscow.com; the Northern Rockies Preservation Project at POB 625, Boise, Idaho 83701; (208) 345-8077; nrpp@lesbois.com; and the Native Forest Network at POB 8251, Missoula, Montana 59807; (406) 542-7343; nfn@wildrockies.org.

## Great Bear Rainforest Blasted



photo by Ian McAllister

Interfor blasts a road to access Johnston Creek, a major salmon-bearing river in the Great Bear Rainforest of British Columbia. It plans to log the heart out of this spectacular rainforest valley. This is the only habitat in the world for the spirit bear, a population of black bears of which one in ten is white. Interfor's new road will open up the valley to trophy hunters and poachers looking to shoot grizzlies. The area has been the location of mass demonstrations in the past to prevent further desecration. Recently, 18 activists from six countries were found guilty of contempt of court for protests in 1997 against road construction in Ista, one of the Great Bear valleys. Of the 353 intact valleys that once stood tall on Canada's west coast, only 69 remain. Your help is needed. Contact Forest Action Network, Box 65, Bella Coola, BC Canada V0T 1CO; (250) 799-5800; fanbc@envirolink.org.

# Lawsuit Proof Logging: California's Fish Recovery: The Summit Salvage Scam

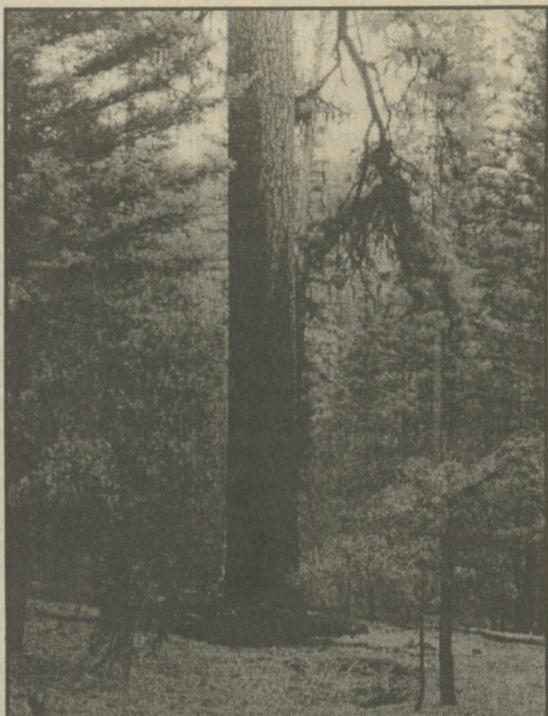
BY ASANTE RIVERWIND

The Malheur National Forest in eastern Oregon has brought back the Summit Fire Recovery Project from the dead. In December 1997, two appeals killed the Malheur Forest's pipe dream sale: a 108-million-board-foot sale that would log in three roadless areas on steep slopes above one of the last wild runs of salmon, as well as in steelhead and bull trout habitat. Forest Service timber planners have now regurgitated a "lawsuit proof" (they think) version of the sale.

The "preferred" alternative of the Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement proposes logging 59 million board feet from 6,500 acres, again in the three roadless areas on very steep slopes with erosive, fire-damaged soils above one of the last remaining wild runs of salmon, bull trout and steelhead in the lower 48 states. The only stream buffers would be those developed by PACFISH (the interim plan to protect anadromous fish) shown to be grossly inefficient by several scientists.

To help insure its "lawsuit proof" desires, the Forest Service has also finally proposed a restoration-only alternative that includes no commercial logging! Alternative 6 would return 125 miles of Forest Service roads to forest land, replant where needed and manually remove invasive exotic weeds (no chemicals). In addition, it calls for restoring riparian areas to help reverse serious declines in salmon and other aquatic species, and eliminates grazing from the recovering area for the near future.

This precedent-setting alternative needs to be supported but with four changes: It needs provisions for restoring natural fire to the area at historic



Charred and thriving ponderosa pine in Summit

intervals of eight to 20 years and provisions for the trapping of pocket gophers need to be eliminated. It must include an ongoing monitoring and research plan comparing this alternative's implementation to other areas in the national forests that were logged under the guise of "fire recovery," and it needs to eliminate livestock grazing.

While we don't believe the Forest Service is serious about implementing Alternative 6, with your help we could make this a precedent setting reality! Please write or call the agencies and officials listed in support of a modified Alternative 6. Deadlines for comments are May 11.

For more information: Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project, HCR 82, Fossil, Oregon 97830; (541) 468-2028.

Robert Williams, Regional Forester, Region Six, 333 SW First, Portland, OR 97208; (503) 808-2200.

Especially send letters to: Carl Pence, Supervisor, Malheur National Forest, POB 909, John Day, OR 97845; (541) 575-3000.

A new joint federal and state plan intended to restore California's bay-delta estuaries includes 23 new and enlarged dams and canals throughout the central part of the state. The "CALFED" plan examines 12 alternatives that address the impacts of delta water diversions and the operation of upstream federal, state and local water projects.

CALFED, which proposes the largest ecosystem restoration program in state history, is little more than a palliative for a new massive public works project to build additional dams and canals to meet current and future water demands. Of the 12 alternatives considered in the CALFED plan, seven include enlarged or new water storage facilities in the Sacramento Valley. Seven alternatives tap into 250,000 acre feet of Sacramento Valley groundwater and 500,000 acre feet of San Joaquin Valley groundwater. Only three alternatives consider no new facilities outside of the delta.

CALFED also has a weak water conservation analysis. It fails to consider any reduction in water demand based on elimination of agricultural subsidies. For example, reducing or eliminating federal dairy subsidies would significantly decrease demand for water intensive crops such as irrigated pasture and alfalfa.

Some of the supposed ecosystem restoration objectives and actions actually threaten the environment. For example, officials claim that wildfire in the upper forested watersheds poses such a threat to water quality that logging must be done to reduce the threat.

To add to problems, the California Department of Water Resources recently released its State Water Plan Update, which calls for building 43 new dams and reservoirs and enlarging existing ones. The Water Plan includes the CALFED projects, as well as some additional ones.

American River: The proposed 50-foot-high Auburn dam would submerge up to 48 miles of the North and Middle Forks of the American River, as well as hundreds of historic sites and 10,000 acres of undeveloped foothill wildlands. The dam site is located on an extensive system of earthquake faults. Significant water diversions from the South and Middle Forks of the American are also proposed to accommodate new local development.

Cottonwood Creek: One of the largest undeveloped tributaries of the Sacramento River, the various forks of Cottonwood Creek have been targeted for five dams and reservoirs. Critical habitat for the endangered spring Chinook salmon and thousands of acres of oak woodland habitat would be destroyed.

Sacramento River: Enlarging Shasta dam and reservoir would smother miles of wild trout habitat and outstanding recreational features along the upper Sacramento, McCloud and Pit Rivers, as well as require the relocation of Interstate 5, the Union Pacific Railroad and several small communities. In addition, the diversion of water from the lower Sacramento for off-stream water storage reservoirs would devastate the endangered salmon and steelhead populations.

The CALFED plan is available for public review and comment. Deadline for comments is June 1, 1998. Write: CALFED Bay-Delta Program, Attn: Rick Breitenbach, 1416 Ninth Street, Suite 1155, Sacramento, CA 95814.

To receive a copy of the State Water Plan, contact: Paul Hutton, Chief, Resources Evaluation Section, Department of Water Resources, POB 942836, Sacramento, CA 94236-0001; (916) 653-5666; <http://rubicon.water.ca.gov/pdintor.html>.

For more information, contact Friends of the River, 128J St. 2nd Floor, Sacramento, CA 95814; (916) 442-3155.

## Watching the Roaming Bison

### OSM Ignores Abandoned Mines

BY CITIZENS COAL COUNCIL

Over 11,000 coal mines abandoned before 1977 have not been cleaned up or reclaimed, according to an official inventory by the Office of Surface Mining (OSM). These sites are gaping scars on the land that cause landslides, sinkholes, blow-outs and floods. The majority of sites are in the coal fields of Appalachia—Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Virginia, Alabama, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The clean-up will cost, conservatively, an estimated \$4.2 billion.

When the federal law regulating coal mining, the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act, was enacted in 1977, it contained a section requiring clean-up and reclamation of old mines. Every year, OSM collects more than \$350 million in fees from coal operators for this work; these funds are deposited into the Abandoned Mine Land (AML) Trust Fund. However, only a portion of the funds collected are released for mine clean-up. Today, over \$1.2 billion collected and earmarked for this work sits unspent in the US Treasury.

Taking OSM's cost estimate to finish clean-up and dividing by the annual federal grant OSM pays each state or tribe for clean-up, the states that will take the longest time to clean-up are: Alabama—111

years to complete; Oklahoma—93 years; Virginia—88 years; Missouri—69 years; Pennsylvania—55 years; Kansas—46 years; West Virginia—39 years; Alaska—31 years; Iowa—25 years and Kentucky—24 years.

By contrast, some states and tribes get federal AML money when they either have no need for it or can complete clean-up with less. Wyoming, for example, has one site left to clean at an estimated \$100,000, but the state got \$22 million in fiscal year 1997. Louisiana has never had any sites at all on the AML inventory but gets an annual clean-up grant of \$94,703. (Louisiana Representative Bob Livingston chairs the House Appropriations Committee.)

The Abandoned Mine Land Trust Fund fee-collection authority will come up for reauthorization by Congress within six years. Although the need is great, it will be difficult for Congress to justify continuing the program if the federal government won't spend the money it collects. Pressure needs to be put on Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt to increase the annual funding request from Congress for



A Buffalo Nations volunteer keeps a close eye on buffalo outside Yellowstone National Park in Montana. This summer, Buffalo Nations will table in and around the park to spread the word about the continued slaughter of Yellowstone's last wild bison herd. To get involved contact Buffalo Nations, POB 957, West Yellowstone, MT 59758; (406) 646-0070; fax 646-0071; [buffalo@wildrockies.org](mailto:buffalo@wildrockies.org).

abandoned mine land reclamation. Please contact Babbitt at 18th and "C" Streets NW, Washington, DC 20240. For more information, contact the Citizens Coal Council, 110 Maryland NE, #408, Washington DC 20002; (202) 544-6210.

# Solar Powered Tasmanian Tree Sit

BY TIM CADMAN, NEIL SMITH AND LAURIE GOLDSWORTHY

Mass protests and a solar-powered tree sit are the signature tools of a recent campaign to protect old growth on the island of Tasmania.

The Mother Cummings coupe (timber sale) contains old-growth white-topped stringy bark forest that has never seen an ax and is interspersed with delicate sphagnum moss beds and King Billy pines, relicts from the last ice age. A swamp and the King Billy stands have been spared from logging so far, but the integrity of the whole ecosystem is at risk.

The forest sits on sandstone outcrops in an area of high landslip potential. The coupe contains beautiful rock shelters used by early aborigines. The logging operations put the rock shelters at risk of damage through landslips, a point overlooked by North Forest Products, the woodchipping company. The corporation's woefully inadequate archaeological assessment did not even make note of the extensive rock shelters. At one stage, the coupe boundary was only 20-meters away from a significant shelter.

A multifaceted campaign to protest the coupe has been in full swing for six weeks now. There have been roadblocks to stop and delay earth-moving machinery and trucks, tree sits to get in the way of tree-cutting operations, and media releases and other attempts to build public consciousness. Most of the tree-sits were short-lived, but the better-prepared tree platform of "Hector the Protector" lasted for 12 days right in the path of the proposed access road. Hector had a solar and bike-powered computer with Internet access in his tree.

On March 22, a group of nearly 1,000 people marched up the logging road, resulting in 68 arrests for trespass. Rallies of about 500 people have been organized in Tasmania's two major cities, Hobart and Launceston.

Closer to the site, about 40 police officers recently set up a village of transportable buildings with plumbing and professional caterers near Mother Cummings. The protesters have a basecamp at the home of sympathizers and a more advanced camp on a roadside closer to the coupe. Over 112 people have been arrested defending Mother Cummings.

The protests will continue with more of the same sorts of actions, although with the large police presence it is getting harder and harder to get in the

coupe or to lock to log trucks. Many of the most dedicated activists have already been arrested and released on bail with conditions that specify large penalties should they return to the area.

In the US you had Option 9, a lot of high-sounding words from the government that freed more of your priceless heritage forests for exploitation. A few years ago the federal government in Australia instituted a series of "Regional Forest Agreements" (RFA) with the state governments. Under these agreements there was supposed to be a "comprehensive, adequate and representative" forest reserve system set up to ensure that some forests were conserved, whereupon the forest industry would be given unfettered access to the remainder of public forested lands. So far two of these agreements have been signed for different areas in the state of Victoria and another covering the whole of the island state Tasmania.

The Tasmanian agreement includes provisions allowing conservation targets to be ignored if they would cause problems with loss of employment or "community cohesion." These provisions have been interpreted broadly. Infuriatingly, after release of the RFA the government immediately chose to attack one of our "icon" areas on Mother Cummings Peak, a piece of pristine forest of only 65 hectares that was previously reserved from logging because of its high level of biodiversity.

The shelterwood logging operation would remove 70 percent of the big trees and is expected to yield about 7,000 tonnes of pulpwood and 1,500 cubic meters of sawlogs. The state would receive about \$80,000 royalty for the logs, which will mostly pay for coupe management costs, while North Forest Products reaps the real profits. It is currently costing the state about \$150,000 per

week to maintain the police presence necessary to ensure that North Forest Products can proceed despite protests.

North Forest Products is the world's largest woodchipper and is also responsible for the Jabiluka mine (see accompanying article). Most of the trees felled will not even provide sawlogs for the local construction industry and will create very little employment in processing. The industry is driven by a few large companies that make high profits by exporting raw woodchips, mainly to Japan, for eventual use in low-grade pulp products like cardboard boxes.

Mother Cummings is part of the Great Western Tiers, known as Kooparona Niara (Mountains of the Spirits) to the indigenous people. For several years there has been a proposal to make most of the public land along this extensive escarpment into a national park partially managed by the aboriginal community, which sees opportunities for employment for its people in cultural tourism (as well as protection of important ancestral sites).

The logging of this beautiful place is either a serious mistake or an act of vindictiveness designed to demonstrate the power of the Regional Forestry Agreement and the woodchippers. Either way, these forests will not fall without a serious fight.

Please write the Hon. Tony Rundle, Premier of Tasmania, Parliament House, Hobart Tasmania 7000; tony.rundle@parliament.tas.gov.au; and Hon. John Beswick MHA, Minister for Forests, Parliament House, Hobart Tasmania 7000; john.beswick@parliament.tas.gov.au.

For more information, contact the Native Forest Network, POB 301, Deloraine, Tasmania 7304, Australia; +61 3 6369 5102; tcadman@nfn.org.au.



Hector and his platform

Photo courtesy of the Native Forest Network

## JUMPING JABILUKA! MARATHON AUSTRALIAN MINE PROTEST

The fight over a new uranium mine in Australia's tropical Kakadu National Park escalated recently with the first arrests in what is predicted to be a marathon protest campaign.

On March 24, two protesters who chained themselves to machines were charged with trespassing. Another 50 entered the Jabiluka mine construction site. Three weeks earlier, 9,000 demonstrators rallied in three major Australian cities to protest the uranium mine in northern Australia. A blockade was set up at the site of the proposed mine in April, and aboriginal landowners and environmental activists have vowed to stop work there until the project is completely abandoned.

Jabiluka is located in the Alligators River Region of the Northern Territory and is surrounded by the World Heritage-listed Kakadu National Park, comprised of savannah and wetland. Energy Resources Australia Ltd. (ERA) wants to mine an estimated 20,000 tons of ore from Jabiluka, one of the world's richest untapped uranium bodies, to export to France, Germany, Japan and the US.

"The traditional owners don't want this mine and... are prepared to go as far

as they can on this one," says Jacqui Katona, spokesperson for the Mirrar Gundjehmi people, the aboriginal community in the area.

The Mirrar have a legal right to veto any mining activity—in theory. But proponents say Mirrar leaders agreed in the '70s and '80s to allow the leasing and mining of the land covering the Jabiluka deposits.

Challenges have been tried in court, but ERA is racing to take advantage of the dry season to start work. The company says the mine's operations would pose no threat to the fragile wetlands of Kakadu, but the Mirrar dispute this. They also fear the disruptive effects big mining operations will have on their society.

The federal government approved the mine last year, despite the unresolved problems of the nuclear industry and threats to the cultural and natural values.

"A project that generates 20 million tonnes of radioactive waste is simply not acceptable, safe or necessary," declared protest organizer Jayne Weepers of the Northern Territory Environment Centre. "This is the worst sort of industrial develop-

ment in the best sort of place."

With the world's largest reserves of the mineral, Australia now exports 6,500 tonnes of uranium oxide each year to 11 countries. Its largest customers are the United States, Japan and South Korea.

The Mirrar have learned painful lessons from the neighboring Ranger uranium mine, which ERA has operated on Mirrar land since 1980. Each traditional owner gets royalties of US \$1,350 a year from Ranger, but ERA also brought alcohol to the township with the mine, which has devastated the community.

To protest the mine, direct action was taken in Melbourne, home of ERA's parent company, North Limited, where 100 people occupied the head office. At the public demonstration in Sydney, Green Senator Bob Brown compared the Jabiluka campaign favorably to one of Australia's greatest battles:

"Having come through the Franklin [Dam] campaign where there were 6,000 who went to the blockade, 1,500 arrested and 500 jailed, I think this is going to be bigger. I don't say that lightly. I've never said that about any environmental issue since the Franklin

but that's how I see this one."

The Franklin campaign, mounted mostly by the environmental lobby, overthrew a conservative government when the Australian Labor Party promised to support the environmentalists in the 1983 federal election. In this election year, aboriginal Australia has been dealt a double blow by the current conservative government's support of the mine and proposals to amend the recently awarded land rights. The coalition fighting Jabiluka seeks to make this a bigger election issue than the Franklin.

If you want to act in solidarity with the Mirrar Gundjehmi there are several things you can do: 1. Organize an action in your city during the week of May 11-17 targeting the Australian government. Make a visit or phone call to your local Australian consulate or embassy. 2. Write letters of protest to the Prime Minister John Howard, Parliament House, Canberra, 2600 Australia. 3. If you live in the US or Japan in an area with nuclear power utilities, tell them to boycott uranium from Energy Resources of Australia Pty. Ltd. (46 percent of ERA's business is in the US).

# Bakun Dam Delayed

The Bakun hydroelectric project, which would displace tens of thousands of Kenyah people, has been put on hold due to the collapse of the Malaysian economy. The dam would inundate 69,640 hectares (268 square miles), drowning the habitat of 12 protected species of fauna and at least 93 other species.

For the Kenyah people of Long Geng, in Ulu Belaga, Sarawak, the last 15 years have been nothing but struggle. The land they have nurtured and depended on for centuries has been under attack from logging companies, government agencies and those carrying out the destruction and deforestation necessitated by the Bakun hydroelectric project.

The people of Long Geng have resisted: They have blockaded logging roads, petitioned state ministers, sought support from nearby communities, sent people overseas to tell their story, and sought solidarity from activists and governments around the world. They've been arrested, harassed and taken off planes to stop them from spreading the news. They still face compulsory resettlement to an area hopelessly inadequate, through a process over which they have had little input and no control. They refuse to go. Numbering over 9,500 people, the Kenyah community is just one of some 15 indigenous communities that face imminent eviction because of the dam.

The story of the Bakun Hydroelectric project is an utterly shameful one. First proposed in the 1980s, it was abandoned because of the cost and strong local and national opposition. It was resurrected in 1993 as one of many mega-projects to be undertaken by the private sector and as part of Prime Minister Mahathir's desire to show that Sarawak can have the biggest and best of everything, regardless of the impact on the economy, environment and people.

The government's justification reads: "It will be Malaysia's largest power plant, and its dam will be the largest in the country and the largest of its type in the world. It will also include the longest and highest capacity submarine cables in the world to transmit power generated from Bakun in Sarawak to Peninsula Malaysia, a distance of 670 kilometers (over 400 miles)." The government claims that the project would give Malaysians their cheapest and most environmentally friendly electricity.

The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) belied these claims, exposing some serious flaws, including deterioration of water quality in the reservoir and river downstream. When the Malaysian federal government washed its hands of the project and gave it to the Sarawak state government in 1995, the entire federal EIA process became moot. Even the local press commented that the process was deeply flawed and likely to lead to loss of public confidence. Despite glaring inadequacies, the project was approved.

Local reaction was immediate. Communities asked for further details, and many voiced outright opposition. Indigenous leaders went to the Malaysian government to voice opposition. Public meetings were held, leafleting and demonstrations took place.

An international resistance campaign, linking Malaysians to groups in all con-

tinents, targeted investors, showing (step by step) how risky the investment would be. The internal contradictions of the project were glaring enough to put most financiers off. The Malaysian government had to step in and begin to bail the project out with the money of the Malaysian people.



*The people of Ulu Belaga still face resettlement.*

and cleared their land. The river, their major means of transport, became too dangerous to use in places, despite Ekran's assurances that access would be safeguarded. The impact on both their agricultural land and forests (essential for hunting and supplying materials for medicine and building) caused growing hardship. Conditions at the dam site were so bad that many local workers refused to work there; foreign workers had to be employed in greater numbers. Authorities have refused to confirm reports of industrial accidents and deaths.

When the Malaysian economy collapsed in 1997, the project was left an utter mess. Wasteful expenditures and unaccountable loans on huge megaprojects like Bakun came home to roost. The stock market plummeted, and Malaysian currency lost over half its value. So, an excuse to postpone the whole Bakun project was quickly formulated.

Late in November, the federal government took over the project from Ekran and put the dam on hold because of economic circumstances. But this temporary glitch in the capitalist economy still may not help the local people. The project remains on the drawing board. Locals continue to ask the government to totally scrap the project forever. They suggest investing in alternative (and sustainable) energy sources and more efficient use of current electricity generation.

Battles over indigenous land continue all over Sarawak: One indigenous protester was shot dead recently by police in Rumah Bangga over a dispute with a plantation; companies and government officials buy off indigenous leaders with money and promises; resistors face harassment and victimization by Special Branch officials, police and other government agents. Public gatherings are essentially banned, and the mainstream media, under government control, does not report on the issue with any sympathy for local protest.

The battle over the project goes on, and the struggle over resettlement continues. Now scheduled for June this year, it remains to be seen how many of the indigenous protesters will refuse to move, and if the full weight of police and the army will be brought against them.

Whatever happens, the project already has had a hugely destructive impact. In the words of an indigenous leader, "Development does not mean stealing our land, our rights, our culture and our future. This is not development, but theft."

This project would doubly penalize the people of Malaysia. The electricity would actually be the most expensive in the country. The national electric company, Tenaga Nasional, contracted to buy the power at a fixed price over the next 25 years, regardless of equity or future supply and demand.

Resistance to the dam also focused on the Swedish-Swiss company, Asea-Brown Boveri (ABB), which was building the dam. An international campaign targeted ABB, asking it to withdraw from the project on the basis that it was unsustainable and had been rushed through the EIA processes, which ABB would never have accepted in its home countries. A Malaysian coalition met with ABB and outlined the many reasons the project would hurt Malaysians. Subsequently, a major row between ABB and Ekran led Ekran to unceremoniously dump ABB from the project.

Meanwhile, the 9,500 effected Kenyah watched in dismay as workers bulldozed

## Gandalf Editors Freed On Bail!

In an unbelievable turn of events, the GANDALF Three (Saxon Wood, Noel Molland and Steve Booth) were released from prison on bail on March 27. The *Green Anarchist* and *Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group* editors were released pending appeal of their conviction for conspiracy to incite persons unknown to commit criminal damage, for which they were each sentenced to three years last November (See December/January '98 *Earth First! Journal*).

This is fantastic news and shows that the three probably have a strong chance of having their conviction quashed. Until the appeal is heard, each of the three is basically free to do anything they wish

as long as they reside at a permanent address and check in at a police station once a week.

In the meantime, the trial of British Animal Liberation Front press officer Robin Webb and *Green Anarchist* defendant Paul Rogers on the same charges started on April 27 at Portsmouth Crown Court. A demonstration took place outside the court on the first day of the trial. Both Robin and Paul were engaged in a speaking tour called the Liberation Tour prior to their trial.

For more information contact the London GANDALF Support Campaign, c/o London Greenpeace, Panther House, 38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1X 0AP; lgp@envirolink.org.

## Frontlines

### BP Blockaded

During the early hours of March 16, activists blockaded the entrance to British Petroleum's (BP) Coryton Refinery in Essex, England, demanding the imposition of a proper tax regime on North Sea oil and an end to new oil exploration in the area.

At 10 a.m., three activists from a group called the UK Oil Overthrow Association locked themselves to the undercarriage of a car in front of the refinery's entrance, under a banner reading "Tax Oil Now." Soon enough the road was backed up for at least three miles, with over 100 tankers unable to enter the refinery. The activists were there for two hours before being cut loose. Seven people were arrested.

The North Sea is known throughout the oil industry as having one of the cheapest tax regimes in the world. Between 1984-1995, North Sea oil production rose by 17 percent but taxation fell by 87 percent. Today, the only tax paid by oil companies in the North Sea is a 33 percent corporation tax, one levied on all UK companies.

BP has been making much PR off its investments in solar including its latest solar plant in California. But the solar investment is less than a quid of every £100 BP spends on looking for more oil. The company recently signed a massive contract in Russia and one in the Gulf of Mexico for oil exploration. Meanwhile it continues to operate under military rule in Colombia and is the largest company operating in Algeria. Ten million tones of petroleum products a year are produced by the Coryton refinery, one of the largest in the country.

### Nuclear Inspection Mission

On March 13, four women spent two hours walking undetected inside one of England's nuclear facilities, RNAD Coulport, checking on the presence of nuclear materials. They found an unattended police boat and requisitioned it. Driving past a security guard in the watchtower at the explosives handling jetty, where Trident submarines have their warheads loaded, the women drove the powerful police inflatable right up to the open hanger. After a 30-minute inspection of the Coulport dock facilities, they decided to check on weapons at Faslane, another nearby facility, knowing two Trident submarines were docked there.

Driving past the security guard and waving once again, they set off down the loch to Faslane. Approximately 50 minutes later, after passing at least four other police inflatables and launches, they reached Faslane. They were only spotted as intruders when they raced by the naval berths trying to find a way to the submarines. As several police inflatables closed in, they managed to dock one woman on the boom. She ran along the top to the part closest to the Trident submarines. She was bumped off when two police boats hit the boom from each side. The police arrested her in the water swimming to the submarines. The other three women were apprehended by another boat.

After being arrested, they were held for 58 hours before being brought before the court. When the arresting officers were told that the women had borrowed the inflatable and driven it from Coulport without being detected, they were amazed and incredulous; they surmised with a grin that, "heads would roll." Once again women peace-makers have shown that there is no such thing as 100 percent security.

## Frontlines

### Workers Yes! Maxxam No!

The active resistance at Headwaters has intensified this spring. On March 16, 70 Earth First!ers rallied at two locations to announce their opposition to the so-called Headwaters forest "deal" and the Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP) accompanying it. The first stop was the US Fish and Wildlife Service and National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) offices in Arcata, California, where activists chewed the ears off officials of both agencies working with the Pacific Lumber HCP.

The band then proceeded to the NMFS Six Rivers office in Eureka where it hoisted a large banner that read, "HCP Kills!" Activists temporarily occupied the office and sang humorous songs to the staff officials making their point about the evils of corporate/government collusion in backroom deal-making schemes.

A few days later, 75 Headwaters enthusiasts marched across Pacific Lumber's property line to honor and visit tree-sitter Julia "Butterfly" Hill, who was 180-feet above the ground in "Luna," a 15-foot-wide redwood. It was her 100th day perched in the tree.

One week later, close to 100 Earth First!ers disrupted business as usual at Pacific Lumber's main offices in Scotia. Four protesters linked themselves together with steel lockboxes, blocking the front door while a young woman scaled a flagpole to unfurl a banner that read, "Workers Yes!, Maxxam No!" From the roof of the building, another group displayed banners stating, "60,000 acres, No Compromise" and, "Debt for Nature, Jail for Hurwitz."

### Contractor Rappels Down Hotel in Protest

On March 2, general contractor Mark Hilovsky and Rainforest Action Network activist Lynn Stone rappelled down the facade of San Francisco's landmark Saint Francis Hotel with a 900-square-foot banner reading, "Do Your Children Know You're Buying Old Growth Wood?" Inside the hotel, the Western Wood Products Association (WWPA) conference was in session. WWPA is one of the largest timber industry gatherings of the year for buyers and sellers of old-growth wood products.

### Radio Takeover During Hunting March

The recent pro-hunting Countryside March in England did not go off entirely as planned. The hunt's rented radio air space, "March FM," was hijacked by a group called the Hunt Sabs Broadcasting Corporation. The sabbers' broadcast drowned out the hunt's signal and replaced the pro-hunting station with a DJ shouting, "Fuck off our land! Now!"

An undisclosed four-figure sum was paid for the day's radio license by the Countryside Alliance. All attending were encouraged to tune in. Those who did were treated to London's finest acid-house music and some words from the sponsor.

### Brisbane Reclaims Its Streets

A portion of Roma Street in Brisbane, Australia, was reclaimed by demonstrators on March 21. The peaceful protesters redirected afternoon traffic and replaced it with jugglers, stilt walkers, fire twirlers and music.

A spokesperson said, "This is about taking back public space from the enclosed private arena. At its simplest, it is an attack on cars as a principle agent of enclosure. It's about reclaiming the streets as public inclusive space from the private exclusive use of the car."

# Genetic Engineering Resistance in Europe

Put down those tripod poles, lay down that monkey-wrench, sit back and relax. Help is on the way. A new force stopping ecocide that is more controversial than tree spiking and makes monkeywrenching look like child's play is making its way across the Atlantic. At risk of giving a heads-up to law enforcement, we'd be doing a disservice to the Earth First! movement to not report on the latest breed of our very own Aikido warriors—the gnomes. Their stature alone is intimidating; much havoc can be wrought three apples high off the ground.

In March, a troop of incensed gnomes entered bio-tech giant AgrEvo's experimental crop of oilseed rape in Fife, Scotland, and painted a large red X across the field before placing "biohazard" placards on the nearby road. "It's time you humans woke up to the dangers of this technology," said UnGnome, a spokesgnome for the Human GeneGnome Project. "We have no option but to oppose the genetic experiment, as gnomes of good conscience."

The global resistance to the nascent science of genetic engineering arises from complex concerns. Multinational corporations are limiting the gene pools of available crops, saturating our fields with pesticides and patenting life. Meanwhile, they introduce foreign genetic "pollution" into wild flora and fauna, affecting unintended target organisms as experiments leave controlled laboratories and enter the natural world. Multinational companies have invested heavily in research and are rushing products to the market as soon as they have an organism that has the desired, financially favorable traits. Gnome Chomsky warned, "All [the biotech companies'] talk of enhancing food production is nothing more than a smokescreen for their experiments. Identical claims were made for the mass use of pesticides and fertilizers years ago. Irreversible damage may be done to the environment as these companies 'engineer' that which they don't understand simply in the interests of profit."

In late March, a coalition of 50 people and gnomes held a protest march to the site of AgrEvo's UK oilseed rape test crop near Cupar. Under the gaze of local police, the demonstrators pulled the experimental plants from the ground. Others decorated the field with a banner reading, "Stop The Crop," placards declaring the site a biohazard and a Frankenstein scarecrow.

Across the Irish Sea, gardening with Monsanto is a national pastime. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, the same folks who brought us Agent Orange, dioxin, Nutrasweet and bovine growth hormone are testing sugar beets that have been altered to resist the herbicide RoundUp. Should

the altered beet enter the market, farmers planting the engineered seeds would have to pay a technology fee to Monsanto and would be required to use Monsanto's weed-killer. Monsanto started planting in early April, about the same time a High Court judicial review on the planting started. Apparently, Monsanto isn't concerned about pre-empting the court a little since it's confident it will win the case.

Elsewhere in Europe, three French farmers who destroyed five tons of biotech multinational Novartis' genetically engineered maize were less lucky than their gnome counter-



parts and have been handed stiff sentences: Rene Reisel and Jose Bove face eight months suspended imprisonment and Francis Roux five months. They are also required to pay Novartis 500,000 francs damages.

With a history of dangerously misleading research and an atrocious environmental record under its belt, researchers at Monsanto might do well to sleep with one eye watching over their test sites. To learn more about genetic engineering in the UK, contact Genetic Concern, Room 13, 24-26, Dame St., Dublin 2, Ireland; 353-1-670 5606, fax 353-1-670 5561; ge\_campaign@geocities.com. The Gnome Nation can be reached c/o Fife EF!, 91 South St., St. Andrews, Fife KY169Q, Scotland.

ASEED Europe in Amsterdam is compiling an activist guide on the genetics superpower Monsanto. Contact them at POB 92066, 1090 AB, Amsterdam, Netherlands; aseeder@antenna.nl.

## MAI: The Sleeping Lion

**I**t's looking like the newest "Corporate Bill of Rights" might not be sliding into place as expected. The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) has been slammed onto the back burner amidst international civic unrest and political tangles.

Over 600 international nongovernmental organizations (NGO) have now signed a joint statement against the MAI, and national campaigns have been launched in dozens of countries. A Dutch NGO reported: "It appears that all hell has broken loose in some European Union member countries, with a combination of street protests, NGO critiques, outraged parliamentarians and inter-agency fights within governments on key issues. Opposition is prevalent in Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands and the UK."

In the Netherlands, activists occupied the office of the chairman of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development MAI negotiation group, Frans Engering, and constructed a "factory" of cardboard boxes in the main hall of the building, indi-

cating investments would be out of control under the MAI. Some Canadian provinces and numerous municipalities have released statements against the MAI. Meanwhile, France has joined Canada as a central anti-MAI figure. MAI attacks are front page in France, and the Prime Minister was forced to declare that he would not sign.

Engering publicly announced in late March that the Netherlands also had recommended against OECD governments signing the MAI at the OECD Ministerial Conference in Paris on April 27-28, 1998. According to Engering, the signing will be delayed until the next Ministerial Conference in the spring of 1999.

The US has also delayed ratifying the agreement for several reasons. First, there is the internal US political fight. The US Trade Office wants the State Department off its turf and has criticized it for doing a poor job with the MAI. Secondly, the US is trying to obtain negotiating leverage. Declining to sign is a delay tactic to scare the opposition into

relenting, make businesses apply pressure and force weaker governments to propose more attractive deals at the table.

Although these worldwide factors are hopeful, keep one eye open. Free trade agreements don't just die. Unless we assert democratic control over corporations, Renato Ruggiero, World Trade Organization Director General, will have his dream of a single global economy come true. The environmental movement must demand the voice it currently lacks at the negotiating table. It must take the opportunity to collaborate with other movements, particularly labor, and clarify the misnomer that increased exports amounts to increased jobs.

For further information on the US stance contact Charlene Barshefsky and Jeffrey Lang, Deputy Trade Representatives at the US Trade Representatives office at (202) 395-5114, fax 395-4549; jlang@ustr.gov. Or contact the watchdog group Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch at 215 Pennsylvania Ave. SW, Washington, DC 20003; (202) 546-4996; ctaylor@citizen.org; <http://www.citizen.org/gtw/>.

# Discover Cascadia



## YOUR DESTINATION FOR FAMILY FUN!

There are lots of fun things to do in Cascadia: hiking, surfing, camping, swimming, rafting—and frontline environmental activism! With commercial logging on our public lands coming to an end, the scramble for every last tree is underway. We can only stop them with your help.

Wherever you travel in Cascadia you'll find plenty of unique and entertaining attractions. Featured here are 7 vacation spots—beautiful Southern Cascadian attractions for the whole family to enjoy. Come for the scenery, stay for the fight. *Cascadia libre!*

## WILD WARNER WILDERNESS

Your trip to southern Cascadia isn't complete without a stop at the original Cascadia Free State at Warner Creek! Unfortunately, you may have to trade in your Canon for some camo; the saws are running once again.

The Oakridge District of the Willamette National Forest has been a favorite vacation spot for hundreds of nature lovers. In 1995-96, the 11-month Warner Creek blockade shut down the Warner Demo "arson salvage" sale in the burn on the north side of Bunchgrass Ridge. The Warner South sale, on the other side of the ridge, was also canceled around that time, in part due to anticipated intensified direct action. But like a poorly doused campfire, this sale lives again. Located within the boundaries of the old Warner South sale up Eagle Creek is the Helldun timber sale.

One of a half dozen "alternative volume" sales currently planned in the Willamette National Forest, Helldun is compensation for Salvage Rider sales lost on the Umpqua and Siuslaw National Forests after a federal ruling saved the Marbled Murrelet habitat there. Helldun would harvest between 12 and 17 million board feet on approximately 200-300 acres along the FS Road 5883 system. These roads divide the proposed Warner Creek Wilderness—the Cornpatch Roadless Area, one of the largest in the Willamette—from the Verdun Rock Roadless Area and the adjacent Waldo Lake Wilderness to the east. Harvesting here will further damage the corridor that links these two areas.

Get ready for an action-packed summer 'cause it's time to give them another run for their money! The Cascadia Free State tour offers you a taste of history, a chance to change the future, and a hell of a lot of fun. Come visit, and you might meet a spotted owl, pileated woodpecker, cougar, black bear, peregrine falcon or wolverine. Learn how fire has nourished and regenerated these classic stands of Douglas fir, hemlock, cedar and yew. Pack extra film! Contact Southern Willamette Earth First!, Cascadia Forest Defenders or Cascadia Fire Ecology Education Project (for addresses see *Tour Guides* on back page).

## ROUGH & READY CREEK: WORTH MORE THAN A NICKEL MINE

Southern Oregon's South Kalmiopsis Roadless Area is a biological treasure that harbors plant life found nowhere else on Earth. In the clear waters of Rough & Ready Creek are steelhead and cutthroat trout, coho salmon, Olympic salamander, yellow-legged frog and other aquatic species that no serious wilderness traveler should miss—especially now, since the Nicore nickel mine threatens to spoil Rough & Ready Creek and the pristine South Kalmiopsis Roadless Area.

The public meetings held on Nicore have been heated; over 90% of the public testimony has been opposed to the mine and urges the Forest Service to choose the "No Action" alternative with no new road construction or reconstruction allowed in any part of the area. Mounting public pressure and gaping holes in the Draft Environmental Impact Statement have convinced the Forest Service to extend the comment deadline and prepare a supplemental impact statement in the Fall.

Your personal experience of this place and your voice is important in an ongoing campaign to defend these redrock wildlands. The miner, Walt Freeman, may not even make a profit from mining this low-grade nickel deposit. He claims to be a concerned, law-abiding neighbor, but he was just caught burning plastic and other trash on the public land where he squats. Perhaps he has other plans for the 4300 acres he claims.

Write a letter today supporting the "No Action" alternative of the Draft Environmental Impact Statement on the Nicore plan of operation. Write District Ranger Mary Zuschlag, Illinois Valley RD, 26568 Redwood Hwy., Cave Junction, OR 97523; (541) 592-2166; fax 592-6545; siskiyou@magick.net. Official comments must be received by May 15, but letters will be accepted after that date.

For educational videos, stickers, hike schedules and more information about the 1872 Mining Law or Rough & Ready Creek, contact Friends of Rough & Ready Creek (see *Tour Guides*).



# CALENDAR OF EVENTS

## MAY

- May 8-10—Direct Action Training Camp, Tree Climbing, Willamette National Forest (541) 343-7305
- May 6-10—Anti-Vivisection Conference, Portland (503) 525-4880
- May 11—Full moon, Lunar Beltane
- May 14—Cascadia Forest Revue (5/14 topic, Eagle/Talon sales) every 3rd Thursday (see June, July, August), Portland State University (Smith Center, Multicultural Room) live music and environmental issues with updates on regional action campaigns (503) 241-4879
- May 15-17—Warner Trail Clearance Campout (541) 343-7305
- May 15-17—Art & Revolution Convergence, Camano Island, WA Reclaim the Streets Procession in Seattle May 17, (206) 632-2954
- May 16-17—Adopt-a-Wilderness Training & Campout, Central Oregon (541) 382-2616
- May 18-24—Ancient Forest Week, actions in Portland (503) 241-5468
- May 24—Fiddle Down the FBI, San Francisco and Beyond (707) 468-1660
- May 23-25—NorthWest Rendezvous, Cove/Mallard, Idaho. Campout/gathering with trainings, workshops, hikes and partying (208) 345-8077
- May 29-31—End Corporate Dominance over Ecosystems and Communities Conference, Portland State University (503) 345-5468, 468-2028, 241-5468

## JUNE

- June 1—Tree-cutting memorial service and celebration, Eugene, OR (541) 343-7305
- June 1—Action and mass rally at Eagle timber sale if logging begins, ongoing basecamp in sale area (503) 241-5468, (503) 241-4879
- June 6-7—Walk (and bike) for Eagle Creek, march from Eagle timber sale to Estacada Ranger Station (503) 241-5468, (503) 241-4879
- June 9-14—Bike and Walk for Warner Creek from Eugene to the Helldun timber sale (541) 343-7305
- June 10—Full moon
- June 17-23—Asylum, anarchist/punk convergence, location TBA (541) 431-8080
- June 18—Cascadia Forest Revue, topic: Helldun (see May 14 above)
- June 20-21—Adopt-a-Wilderness Training & Campout, Eugene area (541) 344-0675
- June 20-21—Monthly campouts in the Eagle timber sale at Eagle Creek basecamp every 3rd weekend until October 31 (503) 241-5468, 241-4879
- June 21—Solstice
- June 24-26—Direct Action Training Camp, Willamette NF (541) 343-7305
- June 27-28—Adopt-a-Wilderness Training & Campout, Salem area (503) 283-6343 x224

## ECOTOURISM

**Wind River Hot Springs**—Natural hot pools right on the river in the Columbia River Gorge near Carson, WA

**Bagby Hot Springs**—Hand-carved log tubs in the Mt. Hood National Forest near Estacada, OR

**Hobbit Trail Beach**—Trails/tunnels through underbrush canopy down to a beautiful, undeveloped Oregon beach 10 miles north of Florence

**Three Sisters Wilderness**—A surrealistic landscape in central Oregon where high country trails provide close-up views of the Cascade peaks, pristine lakes and ancient lava flows

**North Umpqua River Trail**—A nationally recognized trail which skirts the blue-green chill of the North Umpqua River across from Hwy. 138 in the Umpqua National Forest

**Crater Lake National Park**—A geological masterpiece, one of the Seven Natural Wonders of Cascadia

**Cape Arago and the Bastendorf State Park**—The coast near Coos Bay is great beach-break surfing! Ancient forested sheer cliffs drop off into the ocean at Cape Arago where a sand island is home to thousands of seals, including rare and enormous elephant seals!

**Klamath Wildlife Refuge**—Klamath Lake is a world renowned migratory bird sanctuary in south central Oregon's Lakeview district

## JULY

- July 5—EcoWarriors Rally, Earth First! Round River Rendezvous, Twin Lakes Campground, Umpqua National Forest east of Roseburg (541) 344-8004
- July 9—Full moon
- July 11-12—Hike for the Wild Siskiyous (541) 592-3386
- July 11-12—Adopt-a-Wilderness Training & Campout, Southern Oregon (541) 885-4886
- July 13—Day of Action to end the Northwest Forest Plan and all industrial logging on public land at US Forest Service Region 6 Headquarters, Portland, OR, 333 SW First Ave., (503) 241-5468, 241-4879
- July 16—Cascadia Forest Revue (see May 14 above)
- July 17-19—Gaia Music Festival, Laytonville, CA (707) 923-4949
- July 18-19—Campout at Eagle Creek (see June 20-21 above)

## AUGUST

- Early to mid August—ResistDance!, Outdoor summer benefit in Portland for grassroots forest defense. Date and location TBA, (503) 241-4879
- August 7—Full moon, Lunar Lughnasadh/Lammas/whatever
- August 10-17—Wild Rockies Wilderness Week, Cove/Mallard, Idaho (208) 882-9755
- August 17—International Wild Rockies Day, everywhere (208) 882-9755
- August 20—Cascadia Forest Revue (see May 14 above)
- August 22-23—Campout at Eagle Creek (see June 20-21 above)

## TOUR GUIDES

### Seattle EF!

POB 85541, Seattle, WA 98145  
phone/fax (206) 632-2954, Sea+ef@novaproj.org

### Olympia EF!

POB 12391, Olympia, WA 98508

### Blue Heron EF!

Reed College, SAO, Portland, OR 97202, (503) 771-1112 x7875

### Cascadia Forest Alliance & Oregon Wildlife Federation Canvass

2 NW 3rd Avenue, Portland, OR 97208  
(503) 241-4879, 241-5468; fax 235-9976, maluski@lclark.edu

### Santiam Watershed Guardians

333 State, Salem, OR 97301, (503) 585-2767, opw@teleport.com

### Blue Mountains Biodiversity Project

HCR 82, Fossil, OR 97830, (541) 468-2028

### Cascadia Forest Defenders

POB 11122, Eugene, OR 97440

### Cascadia Fire Ecology Education Project

POB 3563, Eugene, OR 97403, fire@efn.org

### Earth First! Journal

POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440; (541) 344-8004, earthfirst@igc.org

### Southern Willamette EF!

POB 10384, Eugene, OR 97440, (541) 343-7305, swef@efn.org

### Protect Our Public Lands

POB 25431, Eugene, OR 97402, (541) 461-TREE, phil@forestcouncil.org

### Umpqua Watersheds

POB 101, Roseburg, OR 97470

### Klamath Siskiyou Wildlands Center

POB 332, Williams, OR 97544, (541) 846-9273, kswild@magick.net

### Kangaroo EF!

POB 332, Williams, OR 97544

### Kalmiopsis EF!

POB 2093, Cave Junction, OR 97523, (541) 592-3386

### Friends of Rough & Ready Creek

POB 2093, Cave Junction, OR 97523, (541) 592-3386, lukas@cdsnet.net

### Klamath Forest Defenders

POB 83, Happy Camp, CA 96037, (707) 441-3803

**GRAPHICS:** FRONT PAGE—FRONT GATE AT WARNER CREEK BY TAHOMA. CENTERFOLD—(UPPER LEFT) HELLDUN TIMBER SALE BY KURT JENSEN, (BOTTOM LEFT) WINDY CANYON TIMBER SALE BY NORTHLIGHT, (BACKGROUND) WARNER WOMEN RELEASE CELEBRATION BY MICHAEL OMOGROSSO.

**MAP BY MOLLIE M. AND JIM F.** BACK PAGE—(BACKGROUND) BISON BIPOD AT WARNER CREEK BY MICHAEL OMOGROSSO. LAYOUT BY KIM B. AND JIM F.

**DISCALMER:** THE OPINIONS PRESENTED IN THIS TABLOID ARE NOT THE EXPRESSED OPINIONS OF THE GROUPS LISTED OR MENTIONED.

# 1998 EF! Round River Rendezvous • June 29-July 6

## North Umpqua • Southern Cascadia

Join us for what will surely be the finest Round River Rendezvous to date. The site is at Twin Lakes Campground up the North Umpqua River in the beautiful Pacific Northwest, home to those endangered big trees you've read about. Twin Lakes is near the top of a mountain named for them (at least by the English speaking invaders naming things here for the last few centuries). They're about 50 miles east of Roseburg, Oregon (8 miles south of the North Umpqua River) and are bordered on the east and south by the forest and streams of Copeland Creek—several square miles of fat southern Cascadian native woodland. The North Umpqua is a fantastic river to float, and the stretch downstream of Copeland Creek is Class III/IV.

**WILDERNESS ADVENTURES** The rendezvous site at Twin Lakes/Copeland Creek is amidst lush native forestland and the National Wild and Scenic North Umpqua River. Here are a few treasures to keep in mind when you hear the call of the wild: Copeland Creek ESOG (Ecologically Significant Old Growth) Area, North Umpqua Trail and Boulder Creek Wilderness. For detailed information on these and other amazing places in the area, contact the Diamond Lake Ranger District at (541) 498-2531. Cheap topo map photocopies will be available at the RRR welcoming table.

**VOLUNTEERISM** The Earth First! RRR is a communal gathering; everyone is encouraged to pitch in. During the RRR you can help by hauling water, gathering firewood, digging shitters, taking a turn at security (mandatory for vehicle owners) or welcoming newcomers. Please contact the RRR committee if you have medical training. Plan to help rehabilitate the site after the RRR is over. Please take responsibility for your camp.

**FUNDS** The cost for this year's rendezvous is \$25. The money goes towards expenses incurred hosting this year's event, seed \$ for next year's RRR and the Winter Organizer's Conference. Make sure and bring some extra money for a commemorative 1998 RRR t-shirt and rafting!

**T-SHIRT CONTEST** We are still accepting entries for the 1998 RRR T-SHIRT CONTEST. Please send entries ASAP to EF! RRR T-shirt, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440. BRING BLANK T-SHIRTS to the RRR. There will be low-cost silk screening on site.

**COMMUNITY KITCHEN** We intend to create an interregional kitchen space that is at once spontaneous and planned, gourmet yet unpretentious, fun yet hard work, and like nothing that has come before. Let us know if you want to be a part of this vision (donations of equipment, food, spices, supplies, etc. needed). Contact Feral at (541) 687-8064.

**RESPECT** The RRR committee will make every effort to address problems related to alcohol and social gatherings. Offensive (violent, abusive) alcohol-induced (or not) behavior is not acceptable. In addition to an artists' fire and the fools' fire (where hardy artists are rewarded for their boldness), there will be an alcohol-free zone and campfire for family and friends who don't wish to be around boozers.

Natives we work with have been invited to join us for the duration of this year's RRR. Some传统als are offended by nudity, profanity, open displays of affection, drinking and other licentious behaviors occasionally found at EF! gatherings. A little discretion will go a long way towards maintaining harmony.

**WORKSHOPS AND CHILDCARE** Let us know before the RRR if you plan to give a workshop or have an idea for one. We expect a large and diverse attendance this year, so we strongly encourage you to share your wealth of knowledge and experience. For the youngsters, we plan to have kid workshops and cooperative childcare. If you have facilitation skills, please contact Pam at (541) 343-7305.

**RRR OLYMPICS I** Events will include bioregional ultimate, the Umpqua Open Folk tournament (frisbee golf), archery (line setting/target), slingshot, climbing, map & compass, team lockdown, media manipulation, swimming, cat-and-mouse, concrete mixing and team tripods. Contestants must provide their own compasses, bike locks, folk discs, bows, arrows, slingshots with ammo (no glass, plastic or metal). Climbing gear is helpful, but some will be available.

**ALE-COHOL** Dozens of "microbreweries" operate across the Cascades producing the finest ales in the world. For your convenience, the 1998 RRR Ale committee will provide you the opportunity to purchase mini-kegs of these locally brewed ales. If you would like to purchase a 5-gallon mini-keg, send \$35 to the RRR Ale Committee by Solstice. Numerous local microbreweries are available (Deschutes, Full Sail, Bridgeport and Steelhead). Indicate what type (IPA, ESB, amber, brown, porter, stout) and which brewery you would like. Give us 2nd and 3rd choices. Make checks out to the EF! RRR, POB 1415, Eugene, OR 97440. [Call Jim at (541) 741-9193 if you have questions.] Homebrewing is heavily encouraged. On Saturday, July 4, homebrewers from around the country are invited to show off their art alongside local microbrews at our BREWFEST!

**MEDIA, FREDDIES AND CAMERAS** Expect media and law enforcement to be sneaking around with cameras even though none of the three are invited. That is, not until our large, all-day party, the EcoWarriors Rally, on Sunday, July 5. On that day, locals, media and Freddies alike are invited to join us for the finest in EF! poetry, skits and musicianship.

**FIRE** The total number of campfires will be dictated by logistics and reason. Summer in the South Cascades is generally hot and dry, and duff fires are a danger. USE DESIGNATED FIRE RINGS ONLY! There will be briefs on planned response to fire.

**STORES** The nearest good health food store is New Day Quality Groceries in Roseburg. It is one block from Hwy. 138 (Diamond Lake Blvd.) at 210 E. Jackson Street. Also in Roseburg is the Umpqua Brewpub at 328 E. Jackson Street. These nice folks serve some of the best ale in the state. On Hwy. 138, 15 miles west of the rendezvous site is a "last chance" general store. They have gasoline, water and a limited selection of food and beer, but close relatively at 9 p.m. It is best to fill up with gas in Roseburg or Glide before you head up river. Please limit all hyperboycotting/shoplifting/grazing activities to the large corporate food bins in Roseburg and other urban sinkholes.

**A WHITEWATER RENDEZVOUS!** Eight miles from the RRR site is the North Umpqua River, one of the finest day-trip whitewater floats in all of Cascadia. The crystalline waters, ancient forests and exciting rapids make this a trip not to miss. The RRR committee is organizing floats throughout the week of the rendezvous. We'll even provide the gear. The tentative plan is to do 2 types of trips: the lowbagger special, where we will ask for donations to cover costs (\$5-10/person), and sliding-scale benefit trips, the proceeds of which will go to the campaign of your choice. We expect demand to outstrip our capacity to get people on the river, so get a crew together early and reserve a slot. If you own a boat or have guide training, consider joining up with us. For more info call Craig at (541) 741-9193.

**WHAT TO BRING** Food (bulk donations appreciated), a blank t-shirt (to be screened on site), whitewater gear, musical instruments, sun protection, raingear, tarps, insect repellent, first aid supplies, large water containers, buckets, water filter, compass, cooking and eating utensils, cookstove, birth and disease control, workshop ideas and materials, backpack (you'll be hiking a few klicks), TP, and all other personal necessities. You can help post-rendezvous actions by bringing twine, rope, duct tape, tools (picks, shovels, pry bars, come-a-longs, monkeywrenches), pack food, banner-making supplies, costumes, radios, locks, chains, lockboxes, video and still cameras (for the action only).

**WHAT NOT TO BRING** a round-trip ticket (we want you to stay all Summer), bad attitudes, shit beer, biological, chemical or undercover agents, firearms, explosives, dangerous or low quality drugs, or anything you are not prepared to pack out.

**PETS** Dogs are great, but DO NOT BRING YOUR DOG. They fight with each other, crap all over, snap at people, steal food, bark at night and generally disrupt goings-on—usually with little restraint or even awareness by the humans "responsible" for them. Also, the bears, cougars and other locals would rather not have to deal with your pet. Dogs that are at the RRR must be leashed, penned or closely supervised.

**ERRATA** The weather should be hot and dry, but the operative word is *should*. Early Cascadian Summer selects against those who don't bring wet weather gear and SPF 30. The lakes are at about 5000', so poison oak isn't a problem, however down the hill it becomes one. There are a few springs nearby for good drinking water and a few rattlesnakes and mosquitoes to help you drink from them.

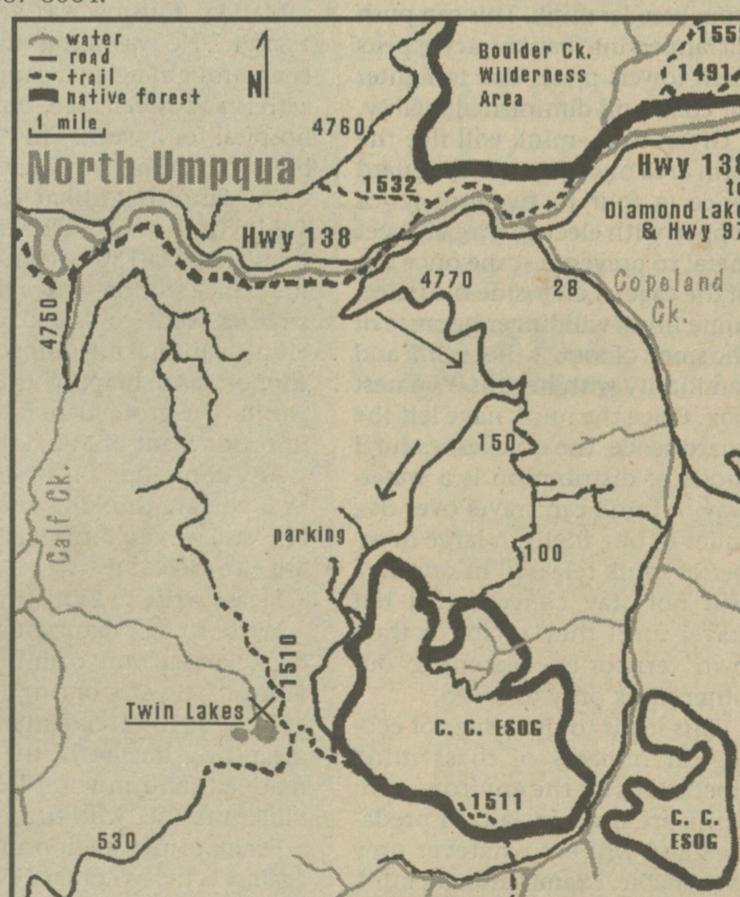
**HOW TO GET HERE** Ride coordination will take place from Eugene. Call (541) 687-8064 if you need a ride or if you have room for riders in your vehicle.

- Trains: Eugene and Portland, Oregon both have Amtrak and freight lines. For information on freight hopping (routes, crew-changes and basic how-to info), write to Hobos from Hell, c/o CFD, POB 11122, Eugene, OR 97440.

- Planes: Both Portland and Eugene have airports.
- Bikes and cars: FROM THE NORTH AND I-5—Roseburg, OR is at about mile marker 120 on I-5, that is, 120 miles north of California and about 180 miles south of Portland. From Roseburg take Hwy. 138 east (signs to Diamond Lake). At mile post 50 turn right up Twin Lakes Rd. (FS 4770), cross the bridge, go up about 8 miles and abandon your vehicle at the parking area. Walk a mile or so SW to the lakes.

FROM THE EAST (North or South)—If you're coming down from Idaho or from the East and North, you'll hit Hwy. 97, either on the Columbia at Biggs, or around Bend. Keep going south on 97 for about 75 miles and head west on Hwy. 138 (signs to Diamond Lake). If you're coming from the South, Hwy. 138 is 63 miles north of Klamath Falls. Pass by Mt. Bailey and wave to the Paw timber sales in the Mt. Bailey roadless area. You'll be back to defend them later. Count down the mileage posts til' 50 (51 is Copeland Creek Road), cross the bridge and follow FS 4770 to... RONDAYVOO!

**FOR GENERAL RRR INFO.** contact EF!, POB 10384, Eugene, OR 97440; (541) 343-7305 or 344-8004.



# THE ECOLOGICAL IMPACT OF MINK LIBERATION

BY ROD CORONADO

In 1990 Earth First!ers and animal liberationists researched the release and reintroduction of a North American predator into the wild, the mink. Our research and the rescue, rehabilitation and release of 60 mink, four bobcats and two lynx led us to conclude that all predators imprisoned on the nation's 500 fur farms should be reintroduced into their natural habitat. Highly intelligent, fierce and very adaptive, mink and other predators have been anything but successfully domesticated.

The ability of formerly captive mink to survive in the wild has rarely been questioned, only the impact these beautifully fierce predators have on the environment as they return to a wild life. The release of animals from fur farms is nothing new. In the former-Soviet Union, Iceland, Scandinavia, Europe, Canada, United States and Britain, animal liberation raids as well as accidental and intentional releases from fur farms have resulted in mink and fox reintroduction into the environment. In Britain, where the entire wild mink population comes from fur farms, the ecological impact of non-native mink has been measured. The water vole, whose depletion was at first blamed on mink, in fact, accounts for only two percent of the British mink's diet. Where mink compete with Britain's native otter population, the larger otters kill mink.

Mink are native only to North America, and until the war against them began in the 1600s, they flourished in lakes and waterways across the country. By the early 20th century, fresh-water mink were largely extirpated from their former range by the commercial fur trade and habitat destruction. With wild mink populations no longer able to satisfy the demand for their fur, trappers in Canada and the US began the domestication and economic exploitation of mink and fox. Utah trappers first live-trapped mink to breed in captivity in 1925. In 1927, the US government opened its Experimental Furbearer Research Station in Oregon (shut down by the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) in 1991) and began experimentation in breeding and raising mink in captivity.

Captive-bred mink are genetically almost identical to their wild counterparts. The only visible differences are behavior, fur quality and color. Black and dark mink, those most commonly raised on fur farms, are closest genetically to wild mink. Captive-bred mink that breed with wild mink produce offspring that lose all visible traces of manipulated genes in one or two generations. A 1986 study in Devon, England, found that only three percent of the mink population exhibited the genes of captive populations.

These factors were the basis of our rehabilitation work with the mink, bobcats and lynx liberated in 1990. Volunteers placed mink in cages four times as large as their previous enclosures and introduced objects such as logs, rocks, plants and water. Small baths allowed the mink to acquaint themselves with water other than that coming from a nozzle or small dish. Their response was to submerge themselves and splash all the water out of their baths. After drying they groomed themselves—all signs of a healthy wild animal. Once the mink built up muscular strength, we focused on nurturing hunting instincts. Our project attempted to do everything possible to assure survival. Once the mink learned to kill live mice and rats, they took little interest in their pelleted scientific diet.

To minimize the demands of offspring on female mink in their first season of freedom and to encourage breeding with wild mink, the captive-bred mink were released far from human habitat and the release site of other captive-bred mink of the opposite sex. On one release, a mink found an abandoned burrow and quickly moved in. Weeks later at another release site, mink tracks were found along with droppings containing hair from a preyed-upon animal.



There are a number of factors liberators can influence to increase minks' survival rate and decrease any detrimental or permanent impact on the minks' new environment. The most important of these is the time of year a liberation takes place. Between July and January is best to avoid the breeding and kit-bearing season. Releasing a late-term pregnant mink increases her energy requirements, and releasing female mink with a litter will result in abandonment of the kits. Male captive-bred mink have survived when released almost year-round, even in the Scandinavian environment.

All captive mink will be killed, and there is debate as to what kind of death is most desirable. While some mink released from fur farms near heavily traveled roads may become road kill, many others survive, with better odds than those in captivity.

The ALF often removes record-keeping cards from cages when releasing mink. Even when released mink are recaptured, decades of breeding records are lost, leaving fur farmers without an identification system to distinguish fur-bearing "pelts" mink from breeder mink. This can push fur farmers into bankruptcy as pelts fetch lower prices due to lighter fur color and diminished quality.

Given time, mink will flee the farm area once outside the guard fence (a four to five-foot fence topped with electric wire or sheet metal to prevent escape once out of the cage). Left inside the fence, some mink will linger because of the smell of food, other mink and familiarity with her/his own nest box. Once the mink have left the guard fence, the quickest natural mode of distribution is a waterway. A mink can travel over five miles in one night. A large number of mink released in one area will not stay concentrated but travel until they establish their own territories, searching out other mink only to breed.

This leads to the issues of ecological impacts of mass mink liberations on the environment. Mink are not specialized predators and will eat whatever prey is available. Examination of mink

scat and dens reveal the diversity of their diet, which can include mice, voles, rats, rabbits, fish, eggs, birds, reptiles, amphibians, crayfish and insects. When the population of one food source gets low, mink will switch to a more abundant prey. Still, mink are predators, and there will be a noticeable impact on prey populations. It is the responsibility of the liberator to guarantee vulnerable and sensitive habitat is not compromised by a mass mink liberation. Mink are ferocious and caution should be taken to avoid releasing mink near concentrations of small animals such as chicken farms, where they may become dependent on easy prey.

Transmitting diseases from captive-bred mink to wild mink is possible but rare. Modern mink farmers have devoted years of research to keep their farms disease-free.

There should be no hesitation to reintroduce healthy captive-bred mink. Native mink populations are drastically reduced, and liberated mink are sure to redistribute themselves to former habitat. The ideal environment is an undeveloped area with a nearby water source and infrequently used roads. In Wisconsin, concern from wildlife officials about the lack of mink along the Sheboygan River was answered by the ALF, which in 1996 released 400 mink from a nearby fur farm.

As the ALF opens cages, they not only liberate individual animals, but whole species. Liberations are not only a blow to the profit margins of fur farmers but also a boost to North America's ravaged environment. With an absence of native predators, prey populations explode, spreading disease and harm to the ecological balance. By responsibly releasing fur farm predators, liberators help restore wounded ecosystems.

## FINNISH LIBERATORS SHOT

In the early morning of December 6, 1997, five Finnish Animal Liberation Front activists were shot after entering a fur farm. They were attempting to take photos and discolor the fur of captive foxes using non-toxic dye. When they arrived, an alarm woke up the farmer, Markku Kuisma, who lives about 50 metres from the farm. He opened fire on the activists with a shotgun, hitting three of them as they ran from the farm. Elina Salonen was shot in her lower back; Joni Purmonen was shot five times in his arms and legs. Jani Seppälä was the most seriously injured. He was shot nine times; one shot penetrated his lungs.

The activists managed to get to their car and drive away but were soon stopped by the police, arrested and taken to a hospital.

Markku Kuisma was arrested and questioned for "aggravated assault." He was released after questioning, and no charges have been brought against him. After three days in custody, four of the activists were released, but Elina was remanded. Jani stayed in the hospital for a week. They have all been charged with "aggravated breach of domestic peace."

The Finnish Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group (EVR TukiRyhämä or EVR TR) was formed the day after the arrests, when it organized a 130-person-strong solidarity demonstration outside the police station where the activists were held. Later, the demonstrators went to Markku Kuisma's farm. EVR TR supports the Finnish animal liberation prisoners by offering financial and moral support and helping them maintain contact with the outside world. The group demands the immediate release of Elina and the imprisonment of Markku Kuisma.

Any donations, big or small, are more than welcome. If you have, or if you are thinking of organizing a support action, please let us know so we can inform Elina. All photos, newspaper clippings, etc. are also welcome.

Please write to Elina through EVR TR.

Write to or organize demonstrations at Finnish embassies and consulates in your country. You could also write to them. Write the Finnish Ministry of Justice at Oikeusministeriö, Kari Häkämies at PL 1, 00131 Hki, Finland and tell them your opinion about this disgusting misuse of the legal system: a 19-year-old woman remanded (and now on hunger strike) for minor offenses while a violent farmer who tried to kill five people walks free. Justice?

For more information and to express your outrage over this violence against activists contact EVR TR at PL 403, 00121 Hki, Finland.

## THIS IS A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF ONE OF THE MANY MINK FARM RAIDS IN NORTH AMERICA IN THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF.

One late night, I sat on a small patch of grass under the stars, listening to the dried leaves rustle in the wind. Just a few moments passed, and I saw the headlights of a vehicle turn the corner and move towards me. After loading my gear into the trunk, I climbed into the front seat and exchanged anxious smiles with the driver. She gave my hand a quick squeeze before steering the car (which had been rented in an untraceable manner) back onto the road. We were on our way.

Stopping only to eat and refuel, we drove all night and day. A few hours after the sun disappeared, we met up with a man we knew and trusted. We sat down to discuss our plans. Taking

# CONFessions OF A LIBERATOR



special care to be sure we didn't have any unwelcome company, we hit the road again and headed for our final destination.

Using detailed maps, we made many, many turns (some wrong) off the main road. We found the address we were looking for and quickly located some thick brush where we hid the car.

We brought a radio scanner that had already been programmed to monitor all the local and state law enforcement frequencies. One of my comrades double-checked it was working and that the controls were set appropriately, secured it in her jacket pocket and inserted the small earphone in her ear. Throughout the reconnaissance and the raid, she would listen carefully in case the farmer or a neighbor reported any suspicious activity or in case an undetected alarm caused an officer to be dispatched to the farm.

We also made sure no one was carrying any loose articles, wearing jewelry or anything else that could inadvertently be left behind. The last thing we did was hide the door key near the car so that if one person should run into trouble, the others would have transportation. Our pockets were empty except for flashlights and gloves. We were ready to go.

We knew how important it was to be familiar with the area so we scouted around on foot for about an hour. Of course, while on or near roads, we made ourselves invisible anytime we saw or heard a car in the distance.

We located a creek that ran through the area and out to more open, wilder spaces. We also made note of the darkest areas for hiding and which side of the road was least lit, setting up an emergency rendezvous point in case we were separated.

Cutting across several large fields to get to the back fence of the mink farm, we hunched over and let our arms hang down so that, if anyone was watching, we wouldn't look human.

After checking for alarms, trip wires and video cameras, we easily climbed the back fence and entered the concentration camp. Still watching carefully for alarms, etc., we hurried through the many sheds, bringing thousands of mink to attention.

We took note of the cages, four rows of them in each shed—filthy, corroded cages that provided no bedding for mink who would normally build nests in the wild. Simple latches held most of the cage doors shut, but some had pieces of heavy gauge wire securing the doors.

Once we learned what we needed to know, we retreated to the field behind the farm and sat under an old willow tree for a few hours, watching the compound to see if anyone was aware of the intrusion. Tonight we would leave the critters behind, but we would return. We hiked through the fields and creeks back to the

vehicle and drove about an hour away where we camped for the remainder of the morning.

After resting, we brought out the radio scanner, dark disposable clothing, flashlights, wire cutters, gloves, spray paint and ski masks. We needed to purchase packaged envelopes, paper and stamps (to send a communiqué after the action) as well as back-up batteries. We fueled up the car and drove by our target once (and only once) during the daylight to further familiarize ourselves with the surroundings.

We spent the rest of the afternoon and evening taking apart all of our equipment and wiping it down inside and out to remove fingerprints. We went over every detail of the plan in our heads and mentally prepared ourselves for whatever we might encounter and the consequences we might face.

We checked our equipment before setting out. We made our way back to the concentration camp, again making sure we were not followed. Just as we had done the night before, we checked and se-

cured the scanner, emptied our pockets and hid the key.

As we neared the farm, we pulled our ski masks down and set right to work, cutting short, wide holes along the bottom of the fence as well as one large enough for us to exit in a hurry if necessary. Each of us entered a different barn and began unlatching the cages, cutting those that were wired shut.

After opening about a dozen cages, I paused for a brief moment to shine my flashlight across them and saw a shiny, sleek figure hop out of her hellhole and scurry across the ground out of the barn. As much as I wanted to focus on and appreciate each and every animal finding its way to freedom, I could not do so at the expense of those who would be left behind. I had to spend every moment on the farm opening cages to allow as many mink as possible a fighting chance at a natural life.

I continued my work, frantically unlatching and cutting wires. While I worked, several mink ran across the top of the cages, and I could feel them scurrying about my feet. Before long, these feisty critters were all over the place, running this way and that, playing and fighting with each other. Every now and then I would briefly stop my work to separate two of the little guys and shoo them towards the outer fence where they would find their freedom.

At one point I heard, or thought I heard, a sudden slamming noise. "The mink have woken the farmer," I thought. "Here he comes." I looked to the end of the barn towards the farmer's house. Struggling to adjust my focus (in almost complete darkness) I made out a light-colored, upright figure. Were my eyes playing tricks on me or was someone standing there? I grew very uneasy and almost nauseous as I imagined "Farmer John" angry as a wasp evicted from his nest but much more dangerous, standing in the doorway holding a rifle. I prepared myself for the worst and tried again in vain to focus on the figure at the end of the shed.

I reminded myself that it's always better to be safe than sorry, so I quickly and quietly left the shed. I looked for my partners, and, not finding them, my anxiety increased. I moved across the adjacent field and found some thick, dark bushes where I hid and watched for about 20 minutes. I saw nothing out of the ordinary and no lights were turned on so I crept back across the field and re-entered the compound. I ducked into the sheds that my friends were working on to be doubly sure that all was well. I found them working away undeterred so I went back to my shed and continued opening cages.

The work was very tiring, and I could feel my bones ache with the monotony of the routine. But I kept going. I could never live with myself if I didn't open as many cages as was humanly possible. I lost count at 500.

When I finished my shed, I checked on the others to see if they needed help. Finding their sheds empty, I moved on to the next one, and we finished it off together. Then, sadly, it was our pre-designated cut-off time. Though there were many more sheds full of prisoners, we had to leave for the rising sun would provide no cover for our escape (or the minks').

I COULD  
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IF I DIDN'T  
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CAGES  
AS HUMANLY POSSIBLE.

We marked some of the empty sheds with spray paint and then retreated. As we fled, we chased many mink to the holes in the fence. Once on the other side, we stopped for a moment to note the many dark figures gliding and scampering through the fields toward the creek.

Using the moon as our guide, we found our way back to the hidden vehicle. We briefly shared our experiences as we walked: Each of us had found several mink dead and decaying in their cages.

We piled our soaked, sore and muddied bodies into the car and made frustrated faces at each other because, though we were excited, we could not talk in the car. We drove silently back down the dark roads to our campsite where we sorted our things, throwing all clothes and shoes into the campfire and placing tools into bags to be safely and immediately discarded.

We talked a little more about our experiences, what we could do better next time, made plans to meet again and shared warm hugs before embarking on our long journey home. During the following day's drive, we heard news reports of the raid on the radio. We smiled proudly with the satisfaction that many mink had a chance at freedom that day, and that the fur trade had just become a little bit less profitable. "Farmer John" just might go out of business.

## BARE BONES

### Cuddy Mountain Victory

For the first time in 12 years, Idaho environmentalists won a timber sale lawsuit in the 9th Circuit Court. In early March, two judges ruled that the US Forest Service (USFS) violated the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) with the Grades/Duke timber sale in the Payette National Forest in western Idaho. Neighbors of Cuddy Mountain and the Idaho Sporting Congress filed the lawsuit. Grades/Duke is the first of four sales planned in the Cuddy Mountain Roadless Area.

The court ruled that the USFS violated NFMA by failing to show that Grades/Duke would be consistent with the Payette Forest Plan. The plan requires that a minimum of five percent old growth be retained within the home range of the pileated woodpecker, a management indicator species in old-growth habitat. The ruling also found that the USFS failed to adequately describe its mitigating measures to off-set the increased sediment in three creeks of the sale area.

### Return of the Rider Defeated

Oregon Congressman Bob Smith's attempt to resuscitate the Salvage Rider was killed by a 201-181 vote in the House of Representatives on March 27. The Smith Bill, HR 2515, would have created an off-budget fund to encourage "forest health" logging paid for by logging receipts.

The proposed Forest Recovery and Protection Act of 1998 sought to establish so-called Recovery Areas to encourage cutting in any area "that has experienced disturbances from wildfires, insect infestations, disease, or other causes or that may be susceptible to future disturbances."

During the debate, Congressman Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY) offered an amendment to codify the moratorium on further roadbuilding in (some) roadless areas. His amendment passed, signaling wide bipartisan leanings toward zero cut.

### Heartwood Kicks USFS Ass

The Mark Twain Regional Forester, Robert Jacobs, withdrew two huge clearcut-style timber sales near Poplar Bluff, Missouri, recently. This action makes a total of five Mark Twain National Forest logging projects stopped by the efforts of Heartwood activists since the first of this year.

The two sales, Carter Corner and Pleasant Valley, were withdrawn because of inadequate justification for the use of clearcutting and failure to properly consider logging effects on the federally endangered Indiana bat. The Pleasant Valley project called for logging on 3,823 acres.

A judge had previously found that the USFS violated the Endangered Species Act and issued an injunction forbidding any cutting in the area pending a full hearing. Jacobs chose to withdraw the sale. For more information contact Heartwood at POB 7653, Columbia, MO 65205; (573) 443-6832; heartwo@mail.coin.missouri.edu.

### Not a Fish Tale!

A 63-foot Norwegian fishing trawler was recently sunk by a huge catch of herring in its net. The crew tried to haul in the net, but the whole school of herring swam for the bottom, capsizing the boat. Oslo's *Dagbladet* newspaper reported that panicked crew members tried to cut the net loose, but the vessel was sinking so fast, the six of them had to abandon ship.

# NUCLEAR WAR IN GERMANY

*continued from front page*

Throughout the 250-mile odyssey of the casks, there were protests. When the casks left the reactor site by truck at Neckarwestheim in southern Germany, an activist blocked the road with an old station wagon and attached himself to it. Two dozen police finally picked up the car, demonstrator attached, and moved it to the side of the road.

Further north, Greenpeace activists locked themselves to the rail tracks. The police couldn't figure out how to get them off, so they pulled up the entire section of track and laid down a new one. But as the loaded train neared Ahaus, thousands of people poured out in opposition. Many were camped at X-4, the only unbusted action camp remaining, and actions to blockade the coming train began in earnest. There were several attempts to get on the railway tracks around the nuclear waste storage facility. About three-hundred hesitant people in a group were not sure if they dared break police lines. Only a few ended up on the rails and were swiftly removed by several hundred police officers. Police with heavy body armor, dogs and even tanks patrolled the area. Water cannons were readied for a riot. The huge concrete buildings of the

stopped at the demo. It was a performance stage, and the German punk band *Die Toten Hosen* began a concert. After a few songs, the police decided it was enough, destroyed the sound system, arrested the truck driver and threw the band off the stage. It took the entire day to remove people from the railway crossing.

After police cleared the area, another group positioned itself at a railway crossing about a kilometer down the tracks. People quickly moved to this area. In an hour or so, the rails were blocked by over 1,000 sitting people. More and more police arrived, water cannons were brought in and military police arrived in helicopters. It felt like the last big battle of



Police—protecting and serving

Photo by Michael Marquette/NIRS



Government-issue German storm troopers attack nonviolent nuclear activists.

Photo by Michael Marquette/NIRS

a war. People waited on hills and fields around the tracks, and slowly the police tried to remove everyone from up and around the rails. Police began throwing protesters off the tracks, while military police hunted for people in the fields. It took the police hours to remove everyone; water cannons proved ineffective against a big group of activists in rain suits on a hill next to the rails. More people locked themselves

to the rails; others sabotaged the tracks. It took mechanics from the German railway an hour to repair the rails. When more helicopters with military police arrived (at one moment 10 helicopters hovered over the area), it became evident the train was near. A special police train came but had to wait until the rails were repaired. Some people that had climbed in trees next to the rails were brutally removed; the police just started sawing down the trees with people still in them! When night fell, the fields were crawling with the police. Helicopters hovered low over the area, and the train came past while the activists screamed and cried out. It was a very long train carrying six casks.

The next morning many people from Ahaus went to join the big demonstration in Munster against the nuclear transports. On the road there, all vehicles looking like they contained anti-nuclear activists were stopped and searched. Over 10,000 people marched and demonstrated there for four hours while speakers, musicians and entertainers performed for the crowd.

Those who support the concept of moving waste to an "interim" dump without closing the reactors that create the waste must look to the root of the situation. Simply put, the people of Ahaus, US activists opposed to the Mobile Chernobyl bill and other nuclear resisters around the globe understand that radioactive waste transport to "interim" sites is for the convenience of the nuclear power industry, not for the safety of the public or the protection of the environment.

Germany has proved once again that it is possible to move radioactive waste wherever a determined government wants. More importantly, however, Germany has proven that it is not possible to move it without creating an untenable reality: It takes a police state to move a radioactive waste cask, and neither Germany nor the US is prepared for the inevitable repercussions.

Suddenly, a truck drove through the police lines and

# Texas Nuke Dump Circus

BY NATE BLAKESLEE

There's nothing like an angry mob chanting outside the hearing room to add some excitement to an otherwise boring regulatory railroading of the people of Texas. In February, final hearings on the proposed Sierra Blanca low-level radioactive waste dump at the Stephen F. Austin building near the state capitol were greeted by a 200-person nuclear circus parade protesting the ridiculously expensive and one-sided hearing process. Flying the banner of the Sierra Blanca Legal Defense Fund (SBLDF), clowns, "radiation rangers" and giant puppets paraded through downtown Austin to the site of the hearings. As an official party in the contested hearing, SBLDF already had a dog in the fight on the 12th floor. But its under-funded legal team (one attorney and no expert witnesses) was like a poodle in a room full of Doberman-lawyers. These suits were hired by the state and the utility companies to ram through this unwanted nuke dump, which would bring utility waste from Texas, Maine and Vermont to a low-income border community in far west Texas.

Protests have followed the hearings across the state, as the charade moves back and forth from west Texas to Austin. Five protests in two weeks of hearings, including one in Mexico City, garnered international press coverage and put some heat on Governor George W. Bush, a long-time supporter of the dump. Because of the widespread disapproval in Mexico, the ruling PRI party has come out in unprecedented opposition.

Judges are expected to announce their approval...uh, that is, their decision, on the license by mid May. The three Bush-appointed Texas Natural Resources Conservation Commissioners are expected to complete the charade with a final ruling on the license in early June. If nothing else, the hearing record created by this case, veering daily between subtle repression and outright farce, should provide a clear road map for an appellate judge to review, an avenue SBLDF may pursue. Another potential avenue is killing the dump through political channels when the Texas Legislature returns next year. The Texas House of Representatives has already soured on the deal, which was barely kept alive last year by Governor Bush and Lt. Governor Bob Bullock. A third possibility is defeating the Texas-Maine-Vermont nuclear waste compact bill (S. 270) that just passed the Senate on April 1. This will allow Maine, Vermont and other states to dump their nuclear wastes in Texas. It now sits in a conference committee awaiting negotiations. A fourth possibility to halt the dump was demonstrated last month by opponents in Ward Valley, California, who summoned several hundred defenders to occupy the sacred site in the Mojave

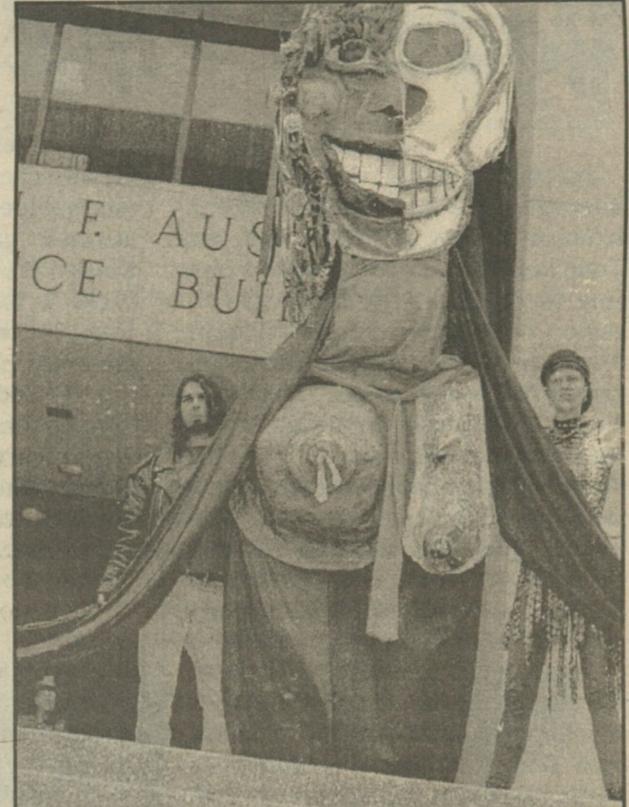


Photo courtesy of Sierra Blanca Legal Defense Fund

desert. Sierra Blanca opponents not only stand in solidarity with Ward Valley but are also looking to California for some direction on what the future may hold for west Texas.

For further information contact Sierra Blanca Legal Defense Fund at POB 18087, Austin, TX 78760; (512) 447-8906; heart@igc.apc.org and Austin EF! at POB 7292, University Station, Austin, Texas 78713; (512) 478-7666; entropy@eden.com.

## Super Vail... Super Ugly!

BY BEN DOON

The public outcry to stop the Vail Corporation from destroying the Two Elk Roadless Area fell on the deaf ears of the Eagle County Commissioners in March. Eagle County, Colorado held special hearings to consider the environmental impacts of Vail's proposed Category III expansion. The original

mayor of the nearby town of Minturn. "These are people who want to maximize their investment and take it out of the valley." Minturn is a rural community struggling to maintain its roots amidst sprawling resort development.

Long-time skiers also vented disgust with the project. "I love Vail, I truly feel it's the best ski area in the world, I truly do. But enough is

interior species and habitat for the imperiled lynx. Since 1935, only four lynx have been documented in Colorado; three sightings were reported in the immediate vicinity of the proposed Category III expansion. Vail's deal with the USFS will bring the resort lifestyle into some of the last, best old-growth habitat for lynx in the southern Rockies.

Even without this expansion, Vail is the largest ski mountain in North America, with the existing Vail resort boasting 4,600 acres of skiable terrain. But being the biggest has not satisfied Vail's greed. Besides Vail Mountain, Vail Inc. also controls Beaver Creek, Arrowhead, Bachelor Gulch, Keystone and Breckenridge ski resorts (all on public land), giving Vail Inc. almost half of the skier market share in Colorado.

The USFS has agreed to the construction of four lifts, 12.2 miles of road and ski ways, a 350-seat restaurant that will span Two Elk Creek, ski patrol buildings, two warming shelters/food service buildings, utilities, water and sewage. Twelve-hundred logging trucks would be needed to haul away six million board feet of virgin spruce and fir. In return for the destruction of this pristine roadless area, the public would get back a pitiful 1.5 cents on every dollar made by Vail Inc. on this expansion, or less than \$1 for every \$56 lift ticket.

Vail Inc. is a master at exploiting public land for massive profits. Last year it had net revenues of \$291 million. The corporation is now on the New York Stock Exchange. The day the company went public in 1997, Vail Inc.'s top three investors made \$64.4, \$59.4 and \$32.1 million. Vail Resort Management Company already owns six hotels, 72 restaurants, 40 retail and rental outlets and over 1,300

residential condominiums.

Vail Inc.'s ultimate goal for this roadless area invasion is not more skiable terrain; the cash cow is selling condos. Vail has an option to buy 50 percent of 6,000 acres of private land called the Gilman tract on Vail's front side, just south of Minturn. In places, this property is only one mile from Category III. Vail Inc.'s privately hired biologist, Rick Thompson even said, "I thought the private land east of Highway 24 was confidential. How did this make it into the Environmental Impact Statement? Development of this land and a connection to the Category III area could have significant wildlife impacts. Consideration of this development exacerbates cumulative impacts, particularly with respect to the lynx movement corridor and elk winter range issues." After years of denying any secret plan for a major new real estate development near Minturn, Vail admitted under oath in a court case this February that it has been investigating the possibility for a new base area, village-to-village gondolas and luxury condominiums.

The Eagle County Commissioners will not make a decision until late April, and their power is limited since this is federal land. The Two Elk Roadless Area is closed to construction for elk calving season until June 30. On July 1, we expect Vail to begin bulldozing roads through the forest. Ancient Forest Rescue, with the help of community members, is planning a gathering in the area during the last week of June. We're seeking a court injunction, but keep your ears open for a summer campaign. For more information you can contact AFR at POB 7566, Boulder, CO 80306; (303) 492-6870; <http://bcn.boulder.co.us/environment/vail>.



Double black diamonds or pristine roadless forests?

Category I expansion was the 1962 agreement with the US Forest Service (USFS) allowing the development of the resort. Following the Category II development phase of the 1980s, the most recent development proposal would add 2,200 acres of skiable terrain to the Vail resort. Sixty of the 70 people who testified at the hearing opposed the expansion.

"These are not nice people that we're dealing with here," said Earle Bidez,

enough," said Anne Egan, Vail skier since 1966. "It is time for Vail Associates to leave some wide-open spaces for wildlife. Bachelor Gulch used to be a prime calving area for elk; now it is a prime playground for the rich and famous," she said, referring to Vail Associate's recent ski development at its Beaver Creek resort.

The Two Elk Roadless Area, located south of Vail, is an unprotected wilderness, an important refuge for forest

# Yadana Pipeline

## EXTRACTING GAS AND DISPLACING COMMUNITIES IN ASIA

continued from front page

In a profit-sharing contract with the Burmese junta and Thailand's Petroleum Authority (PTT), Unocal and Total launched a plan to build a pipeline to transport the gas across the region of southern Burma called the Tenasserim. To many this seemed extraordinarily unrealistic. The pipeline had to cross rough, mountainous terrain where earthquakes are common. And the region has been a war zone for decades, with Karen, Mon and other ethnic guerrillas fighting for autonomy. Further, the route cuts through rich monsoon rainforest, the habitat of many rare species.

These drawbacks did not dissuade the companies. Battalions of Burmese troops were shifted to the pipeline area and commenced a scorched-earth campaign that relocated and destroyed entire villages. Suspected opponents were hunted down, tortured, raped and massacred. Hundreds of thousands of Karens and Mons were taken captive as forced laborers, to build a "death railway," roads and new army bases in the vicinity of the pipeline route. When reports of these massive human rights violations reached the outside world, Unocal and Total officials insisted that the security campaign was justified. In 1995, Unocal president John Imle, one of the principle instigators of the Yadana project, warned, "If you threaten the pipeline there's gonna be more military. If forced labor goes hand and glove with the military, yes, there will be more forced labor. For every threat to the pipeline there will be a reaction."

By late 1997, the Burmese portion of the pipeline had been laid, with a wide swath of forest cut for its path and thousands of troops guarding the route. International efforts to stop it had gained more and more support, but to no avail. Demonstrations at Unocal/Union 76 gas stations in the US persisted until Unocal sold off all its US operations, including the gas stations. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers labor union joined in protests against the Yadana pipeline, as Unocal "downsized" more and more US workers to concentrate on its Asian schemes (which also include a pipeline in cooperation with Afghanistan's Taliban). Twenty locations, including the state of Massachusetts, New York City and San Francisco, enacted laws banning state/city business with companies that do business in Burma. Lawsuits were filed against Unocal executives on behalf of the victims of the brutal pipeline security campaign. The corporations were held accountable by the public, the press and even the courts, but the pipeline still crossed the degraded land up to Burma's border with Thailand.

Thailand's energy moguls have promoted the "need" for more and more electricity to provide a prosperous population with air-conditioned townhouses, mega-malls, ice-rinks, multiplexes, chip factories and so on. With a bad case of disregard for the environment and symptoms that include outrageous urban air pollution, filthy seacoast and rivers, a passion for plastic throw-aways, trade in endangered species and a point-of-no-re-

turn deforestation rate, Thailand has fueled a construction boom with non-renewable energy expansion. "Cheap" Burmese gas seemed perfect (even though it's not so cheap when kickbacks to the Burmese junta are factored in). It was decided that a new electrical plant would be needed to use the Yadana gas. And, not coincidentally, the forests of the Tenasserim were secured so that rapacious Thai timber firms could enter and clearcut them once Karen and Mon villagers

ers set up the blockade camp in the Huay Kaeng nature reserve. Construction ceased, and soon Thai army troops were brought to the area.

In response to the protest, PTT launched a major ad campaign and paid village headmen to pledge support to the pipeline. The opposition to the pipeline was bolstered by a huge rally/concert in Bangkok featuring Karabao, Thailand's indigo batik-clad answer to the Grateful Dead. As the camp-out continued, reports ap-

peared of herds of wild elephants in the area, which the protesters located and videotaped. Not only is the world's smallest mammal threatened, the habitat of the largest land mammal faces destruction as well. PTT's assessment failed to mention the presence of elephants. Activists and reporters began to reveal a pattern of deception by PTT about the project as a whole. They questioned the need for the new electricity generating plant, given the downturn in the economy; they questioned the price of the gas and the secrecy of PTT's contract with the Burmese energy ministry.

In late February, ten days of hearings were called by the government. After testimony by PTT and by pipeline opponents, a report was issued calling merely to safeguard the forests and

villages along the route during construction. The pipeline was to go ahead, even though the generating plant would not be ready in time to receive it. In fact there are doubts that it can be built at all given the financial climate. Worse yet, it was recommended that construction be speeded up.

For three months, the protests succeeded in preventing construction of the pipeline. But on March 1, PTT started cutting in the area, despite the protesters. On March 2, the heavy machinery was moved in. Five days

later, 50 students and activists who had been camping in the forest were arrested. Police used water cannons to break up the protest.

The fate of the Yadana pipeline, built at such terrible cost to indigenous peoples and forests, may lie in less pacifist actions. Several pipeline workers have already been killed by Karen rebels in Burma, who at one point vowed to turn the pipeline into "a snake of fire" if it was ever completed. Worried oil-company managers reportedly tested the effect of landmines on a pipe section recently. A small army of fervent Karen guerrillas, led by visionary twin nine-year-old boys, has risen up in the area. And a veteran Mon rebel leader has suggested that the forces of nature will destroy the pipeline with one of the severe earthquakes that periodically shake the Tenasserim.

In the United States, protests continue against Unocal for inflicting its pipeline scheme on Burma and Thailand. "Unocal's strategy to expand in Asia is tainted with the blood of human rights abuses in Burma," Pam Wellner of Free Burma—No Petro\$ commented recently. "First they helped destroy the environment in Burma, and now they are moving on to Thailand." Bhinand Jotiroseranee, a leader of the Thai protesters, also condemns the Los-Angeles-based multinational: "Unocal is accountable for this environmental destruction and are showing disrespect to local people who have cherished elephants for centuries," he stated.

For more information on the campaign to get oil companies out of Burma (including an upcoming demonstration at Unocal's annual shareholders' meeting), contact Free Burma—No Petro\$, International Rivers Network, 1847 Berkeley Way, Berkeley CA 94703; freeburma@igc.org. Letters of protest about the Burma/Thailand pipeline can be sent to Mr. Roger Beach, CEO Unocal Corp., 2141 Rosecrans, Suite 4000 El Segundo, CA 90245.

Edith T. Mirante is director of Project Maje, an information project on Burma's human rights and environment, and author of *Burmese Looking Glass: A Human Rights Adventure* (Atlantic Monthly Press).

## Toward a policy at the border

continued from page 3  
associated with KKK racists. None of this excuses the fact that instead of admitting that three million additional first world Americans a year is too many, and advocating bold, effective steps to reduce immigration (like repealing NAFTA and ending all US military aid to foreign, oppressive regimes), these Earth First!ers chose to parrot the "racist" line being spewed by progressives and in so doing sought to quell even this modest dialogue about US population growth.

The Sierra Club's decision on this initiative will be final before the Journal goes to press. Regardless of the outcome of the election, the points raised by it will not go away. If the proposal loses, the Earth First! movement still

needs to address the serious ecological questions posed by immigration and examine the knee-jerk response to the issue. If it wins, instead of bemoaning the fact that the "racists" have won, we might better work outside and inside the Sierra Club to ensure the policy is not used to attack immigrants or as substitute for real, substantive reductions in US consumption. Rather, it should be the impetus to attack the forces that drive immigration.

Garth Kahl has been an Earth First!er for over 10 years. He is also a progressive and has defended abortion clinics, volunteered for the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, is an organic farmer and agronomist and works roughly three months of the year in Latin America with peasant cooperatives and others. His ancestors were immigrants.

# Getting Those #&@% CBs to Work

BY THUJA

Last issue we touched on some basics of VHF and UHF radio communications. This time we'll wrestle with that old bane of the field campaigner, citizens band (CB) radio. As lousy as most CBs are, they're cheap, readily available and legal to use. Hence, they are often found in grassroots, shoestring campaigns. In general, CBs are under-powered and foul sounding, but with a little work, they can be made to work for many scenarios.

You will need to secure a solid source of 12-volt power if you plan to run CBs. Transmitting eats power. Photo voltaic, wind, strong vehicle alternators, pedal power setups, tons of marine batteries, whatever, if you plan to operate systems in the field for any length of time, a ready supply of amperage must be found. Running some 110-volt inverters off the same supply as your communications systems will create unacceptable levels of noise. When you are running alternators or generators, it's a good idea to place a noise suppressor in the line (available at Radio Shack or your local CB shop). Use heavy wire, at least 12 gauge or larger (10 or 8), between your power source and the radios.

It's hard to tell you what to look for in radios. There are so many different makes and models, and a pawn shop or salvage-bought unit can have any number of internal problems. Many CBs are junk even when they aren't broken. You'll probably end up using a couple before you find one that both receives and transmits intelligibly. Units with sideband are generally preferable. Cheap, reasonable-sounding CBs can be found, but it takes some dredging. Many older units are as good as or better than the best new ones.

Once you procure good working units, the antenna system is your best hope for establishing reliable links. Basically, what you want in an antenna is efficiency and something called "low SWR."

SWR (standing wave ratio) may sound arcane, but it's really pretty simple. You want an antenna that resonates at your frequency of operation. If the antenna isn't tuned correctly, it will not fully resonate the available power but will reflect some of it back toward the source. If the SWR is too high, this reflected power can actually burn up the final transistor in your radio. Even if it's not that bad, this power is certainly wasted. SWR is expressed as a ratio; 1:1 is perfect, 3:1 or higher is unacceptable. If you are going to set

up radio systems for your friends, you will need to get an SWR meter. Radio Shack has a version for \$20, while some CBs have one built in. I bought one at a yard sale for a quarter once. The most basic SWR meter consists of

an antenna too short, antenna too long, and a switch to flip between them.

Figure 1 shows the SWR curve for a typical whip antenna.

The SWR is lowest at channel 20.

At channel 1, the SWR is highest.

At channel 40, the SWR is again highest.

Between channels 1 and 40, the SWR is between 1:1 and 3:1.

At channel 20, the SWR is 1:1.

nas are vertically polarized so some activists like to orient their field arrays vertically to better communicate with mobile units. Others figure the forces of evil are all vertical so they run "flatside" to make themselves more difficult to listen to.

One very simple, versatile field antenna is the "dipole." It is easily constructed from 50 ohm coaxial cable and about 20 feet of wire. Cut two pieces of the wire to 108 inches.

Attach one to the center conductor of the coaxial cable and the other to the outer shield braid. A good twist and tape job can

work here, but a little

solder does wonders. Use some tape to

make sure the wires can't short

together where they meet the coax. If

you use insulated wire, strip several

inches off the ends so you can easily

tune the length by twisting them back

on themselves. This also provides

convenient loops to attach rope or

string to hang the thing up. Hoist it

up in the air and check your SWR. It

will probably be too long as indicated

by a lower SWR on channel one.

Shorten both wires equally until you

get the low SWR where you want it.

This usually occurs when the length

to the end of the loop is right around

102 to 104 inches (See figure 2).

If your coax already has end

connectors on it, you may want to

anything. Then you're in business (see figure 4). This is great for installations you may have to abandon in a hurry.

The inexpensive RG-58 coaxial

cable is good for these kind of "rip

and run" installations, but for

mobile and general use, I recommend

the slightly larger RG-8X, also called

"mini 8."

Not only does more power

go through it, but its stranded center

conductor makes it far more flexible

and reliable.

If you want to build durable,

versatile systems you will also want

to use connectors with your coax. The

female SO 239s are

about \$2 each and

can be salvaged off

the backs of hopelessly broken

radios. Male PL259s, the ones that go

on the ends of the coax, are about \$5

a pair once you get the reducers you

also need. You can learn to use these

by building a short jumper to connect an SWR meter. Slide the reducer

and the coupling ring

on the cable first! Strip the jacket

careful not to nick the

shield braid, at 3/4

inch. I like to cut part

way down all around,

and then very care-

fully cut all the way

down one line to the

end with a sharp

knife. Then peel the jacket away

without messing up the braid.

Carefully unravel the braid and fan

the wires out. Trim them at 3/8 inch.

Slide the reducer up to the end of the

jacket and fold the braid wires over

it, nice and even all around. Strip the

inner conductor again, only cutting

part way and twisting the insulation

off, leaving only 1/8 inch. Slide the

plug on, and carefully screw it onto

the reducer. Solder the center con-

ductor and then the four holes over

the braid wires. It can be hard to get

the shield connection hot

enough without melting

the plug insulation

# Same Wild May Flowers for You

Dear Earth First!,

The Eostar 1998 edition of the *Earth First! Journal* contained an insert called "Central Appalachia: Our Mountain Home." I want to raise a concern about what I read at the end of the "Consumption, Forests and Wild Future" section and what I've been reading in the *EF! Journal* and other environmental news letters.

The picture with a zero cut banner and the written support for the National Forest Protection and Restoration Act (H.R. 2789) is my concern. This Act, introduced by Reps. Cynthia McKinney and Jim Leach and supported by a number of environmental organizations/movements from the Sierra Club to Earth First!, is not what people claim it is. Publicized as a "zero cut" bill that will save our public lands from logging, H.R. 2789 received immediate attention in our community. Pictures of McKinney and Leach with Sierra Club members were published on the covers of newsletters; environmental groups gave their support for "zero cut"; and there was a general hope that Congress may finally protect the forests.

I'm writing, however, to inform people of the true nature of the National Forest Protection and Restoration Act. Unlike what some mainstream environmental groups would like people to believe, *McKinney-Leach Bill is not a zero cut bill*. Nowhere in the language of H.R. 2789 is there any mention of ending logging on public land, or any land for that matter. This bill would end timber sales on Federal Public Lands, but not logging. This means trees can be cut to build roads for recreational access to public lands, trees can be cut to make trails for motorized recreational vehicles, trees can be cut for cross country ski trails, trees can be cut for mining operations; basically, trees can be cut for anything but "timber sales". These are just a few concerns about the McKinney-Leach legislation, there are more.

The Earth First! movement (No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth) has a long history of fighting for protecting forests from logging. I'm very surprised to see EF! support a bill that will not end logging. I would love to see the end of logging on public lands, and I'm in support of any legislation that will achieve this goal. However, the McKinney-Leach bill will not end logging. There is a stronger act in Congress that will end logging on Federal Public Land, stop road construction and put money into restoration projects. This is the legislation environmental groups should be supporting and writing about. I am not affiliated with any forest campaign, I'm just a concerned environmentalist who wants the strongest forest protection bill to pass.

—M

*Ed. Note:*

The only stronger bill we are aware of is the Native Forest Council's "Forever Wild" bill, which is basically zero extraction legislation. For more information contact NFC at POB 2171, Eugene, OR 97402, (541) 688-2600.

—LP

The controversy over the Little Alfie timber sale in northern Minnesota (p.30, Yule 97 & p.5, Brigid 98) has generated much interest in the area's mainstream press. The *Duluth News Tribune* has printed several opinion pieces and letters to the editor on either side of the debate. One recent opinion piece seems at first, to support preservation. However, it may instead reveal a new and insidious tactic to undermine the conservation ethic.

Andrew Slade is director of education at the Great Lakes Aquarium in Duluth and writes a monthly column for its paper. The piece in question actually credits Earth First! with bringing the Little Alfie issue to the fore. He goes on to argue that we cannot leave nature alone even for purely conservation goals. He says: "Humans have so manipulated natural systems on this planet that it is virtually impossible to do the right thing... we are stuck with the role of steward."



However, without any argument at all, he concludes that the Forest Service's compromise plan is therefore a wise choice. He calls the plan, which will sacrifice 60 percent of the red pine on Little Alfie, an "ecological Band Aid" as though the trees were being cut for some ecological imperative, made necessary by humanity's historic alteration of natural processes.

He says nice things about Earth First! He supports, in principle, the land ethic. Yet, in carefully worded subterfuge, he defends forest management which will indeed compromise the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community.

We have, in Slade's writing, a favorable recognition of the term 'Earth First!' as the name of a group. We do not, it seems, have a favorable recognition of the term 'Earth First!' as a philosophy or a moral imperative. We still have much work to do.

—HENRY BRUSE, WISCONSIN RAPIDS

Dear EF!

I thank you for your heroic efforts to save our Mother. May your reward be great. I must tell you I met the most interesting group of people that referred to themselves as a "Meteor Shower," and what they were doing was relocating all the US Geological Survey benchmarks and section corners to random locations, effectively scram-

bling the grid. They've started nationally and figure it would go global. They got tired of pulling flags and stakes and decided to go for the source. After all it is a fight for the land!

They seem to think that this could be the first domino in a long series of halts to the ever encroaching "Machine," that could bring it down finally once and for good by scrambling the grid. Of course a natural disaster like a meteor shower could do



the same thing! They thought perhaps if even as little as 10 percent of the benchmarks and section corners were moved that would be cause for an extensive amount of time and manpower, seeing that it's taken 150+ to complete and it isn't finished yet.

Meteor Shower didn't consider this action illegal since the USGS never got permission from Mother to install the marks. We know this because they don't even think she is a person. They think she is a thing and you don't ask things for permission. Who do they think their mother is anyway? We all know you can't do anything without your Mom's permission, for it is written "Honor your father and mother" and of course the intent of their actions is to do just that, "Honor Your Mother."

Imagine no more borders, no more countries too!—St. John the Divine

Behold the stone that the builders (surveyors) rejected has become the chief cornerstone—Bob Marley

Thank you

—DANIEL STONEMAN

P.S. The best way to join Meteor Shower is to grab a topo map and get hiking!

Dear Smut for Brains,

I am shocked and dismayed at the lack of respect you showed in the last issue of the *EF! Journal* letters to the editors page. First for the lewd displays of frogs; are you an environmental journal or a frog pornogra-

phy magazine? Positions? They were ALL offensive!

As a very sensitive species, I am hurt! Have you not thought about the detrimental impact this could have on our already declining frog homes and families. Did you even know who these horrible drawings are of? They're of good frog citizens like my dear neighbor and her family. This smut could destroy an offspring's image of their parents! I am also concerned because I did not see any use of dental dams, which frog activists like myself are trying to promote for safe sex!

Your past issues have been done with much more taste, please return to your old ways. Please treat our frogs and readers with more respect in the future.

—FROG, BOISE, ID

Dear earthlings,

About two years ago I began keeping a list of eco groups whose activities are featured in these very pages. All one had to do to make the list was nothing. It was a roster of organizations which did not respond to one query or another I had made over the course of six months. One particular campaign had the distinction of having not responded to at least half a dozen letters and phone calls. Understand these were

not clandestine groups skulking about in the darkness, torching the toys of the empire, but organizations who actually gave their name, address and serial number under such headings as "what you can do" or "contact." My list of non-responders reached an incredible 18 entries.

It is not my intention to bash the movement by naming names, but merely point out a fatal flaw in our organizing and, hopefully, nudge some allies into cleaning up their act. The point was, and remains, if I had been some neophyte looking for a place to hookup with the struggle to save the world, instead of a die-hard activist, I would have bailed out long before I ever got to rejection 18. And, make no mistake about it, a lack of response is simply a quiet form of rejection.

So, the question begs an answer: how do we protect the planet and her inhabitants if we can't even replenish our ranks? Yes, we are overworked, under compensated, and short of time and resources. But such excuses don't wash when a group actively puts out a call for assistance or further information and then fails to follow-up when requests come in. If your group is stretched too thin, why not wait for it to coalesce before putting one's collective foot in one's collective mouth? What's the point?

Whatever the cause of poor organizational structure the end result is the same. When requests go unanswered the group projects an image of disorganization, disconnection from the rest of us, perhaps even elitism. For the most part however, they

just appear to be fucked up.

I'll assume I don't need to remind you that 1,500 of the world's senior scientists give us perhaps a decade to get our shit together before "...the prospects for humanity are immeasurably diminished." (this is to say nothing of the rest of existence). It's not like we have a lot of time to waste being our own worst enemies. We already have plenty of them.

When the Ludds overran Exchange Hall in Manchester many in the crowd were probably aware that others would soon be "twisted-in" and their numbers would swell. For the most part, Luddite communication was by word of mouth, relatively easy enough in the confines of the Midlands, back then.

Today, however, we have to rely on long distance communication to successfully address our work and fill our ranks. With this in mind, will you please answer the fucking phone?

—OAK

To the Editors,

True, the "population explosion ain't what it used to be"—it's worse. I hate to be a wet blanket, but the Eostar issue's optimistic article understates an important component of human population growth: momentum.

The article states that global birth rates have dropped by almost 50 percent since 1950: from 5.0 to 2.8. Hooray! Trouble is, in that same period our annual increase has gone from 37 million to 79 million: more than double the growth at half the fertility. That's momentum.

How much better can we hope birth rates will get? Even a one-child average per couple wouldn't stop our increase right away, due to so many people reaching child-bearing age. One third of Asia's and Latin America's people are under the age of 15, as are half of Africa's.

Reproductive freedom needs all the support we can provide at this time. The USA's share of funding for international family planning is constantly being reduced and restricted by pronatalist and anti-choice forces. Hundreds of millions of couples are denied their right to limit the number of offspring they create.

It's nice to share encouraging signs, but if we ignore major pieces of the picture, we're likely to encourage couples who seek justification to create more people with their particular genetic makeup. They might birth first and ask questions later.

Although a happy turning point has been reached, a 10 percent decrease in our increase, from peak of 87 million per year to 79 million, is not significant in terms of our environmental impact. Sorry, we must refrain from celebrating defusing of the population bomb for a long time yet.

While 40,000 children are dying of preventable causes on an average day, and as long as an obscene number of non-human species are driven to extinction due to our encroachment into their habitat, we might also refrain from co-creating any more of ourselves.

—LES U. KNIGHT

Dear SFB,

Just read Lorax and Lester Wood's letters in the Eostar *Journal* responding to Michael Dorsey's "Environmentalism or Racism" Op-ed. I was gladly to see them there.

I recently swallowed my radical pride and joined the Sierra Club wanting to support John Muir Sierrans (David Orr, Texas EF! still loves you!) and to vote against the "immigration reduction" proposal. I'm against it because the nation state is no long-term friend of the wild, strengthening the borders are artificial and anthropocentric... I'm against it because no one deserves to be forced back in shackles to a country that may execute them... I'm largely against it because my teenage sweetheart was a Mexican I helped sneak into the US, but that's another issue...

However, some of my Earth First! and Sierra Club friends disagree with me on this, and support strong immigration limits. They are not closet members of the Aryan Nation or KKK, and don't deserve to be called racists or xenophobes—they're not! It's not fear of a brown planet that inspires their stance, but fear of a dead planet due to excessive American population, consumption and waste. While I share their fears, I disagree with their solutions—we've had some honest and respectful debates about this. We're biocentric activists and on the same side in spite of our differences.

While I agree with Dorsey's opposition to Population-Environment Balance's proposal, his editorial read like a reactionary assault of P.C. mudslinging and knee-jerk liberal slander. To link activists who support immigration limits to David Duke is like the mainstream media's attempt to link Earth First! to the Unabomber. Or the left-wing media linking deep ecologists to Hitler. P-E B have clearly expressed their motives (which are not racist), and backed them up with facts and statistics. I believe there's better motives, facts, and statistics to oppose them, but Dorsey didn't give any of that.

About the "White Boys Club" behind this proposal—Maria Sepulveda, executive director of P-E B behind the proposal, don't sound like too much of a white boy to me. To thoughtlessly mislabel a latina woman a "white boy" over a disagreement is ultimate racism (and amateur journalism.)

There's strong Earth First! consensus that way too many humans are doing way too much damage. Our solutions to the population crisis are as diverse as our feelings on tree spiking, animal rights or misanthropy.

Let's not get so P.C. we shit on our friend's and allies over differences in strategy and politics and misjudge their intentions.

So yea, I'm still against P-E B's proposal. And I'm not a racist or xenophobe, but neither are the conservationists who disagree with me. And I hope this letter isn't taken out of context, 'cause if it is I'll probably get my monkey ass whooped at the Oregon Rendezvous. But then maybe I deserve it.

Thanks,

—NAME ANSLAND (WHO IS NOT  
DAVID METZGER, TOM DUKE, OR  
EVEN ED FOREMAN)

Siblings,

What is "non-violence"? Many in this on-going debate, on both sides, keep saying we need to read Gandhi. Okay, I did. Specifically, "Gandhi on Non-Violence," edited by Fr. Thomas Merton. The following quotes are from Gandhi's "Non-Violence in Peace and War".

"To lay down one's life for what one considers to be right is the very core of satyagrahi. Satyagrahi is always superior to armed resistance. This can only be effectively proved by demonstration, not by argument. Injustice must be resisted. No doubt the non-violent way is always the best, but where this does not come naturally, the violent way is both necessary and honorable. Inaction here is rank cowardice. It must be shunned at all cost. There is nothing more demoralizing than fake non-violence of the weak and impotent."

So the Mahatma's basic message is: to be a true practitioner of non-violence, you must be willing to die for it. This is the highest form of courage. Needless to say, those willing to give their lives will not run from the threat of a beating, jail or even prison. There are very, very few people in the environmental movement, or anywhere else, with the courage of a true satyagrahi. Next down the line are those who are willing to give their lives fighting. From Gandhi's own words we learn that there are times when this is "both necessary and honorable." Then there is the "fake non-violence" used by the "weak and impotent" to disguise their "rank cowardice."

How do we tell the difference between the cowards who advocate fake non-violence and true practitioners of ahimsa? Gandhi tells us that "this can only be effectively proved by demonstration, not by argument." So, anyone who advocates non-violence and deplores direct action is obligated to take the most dangerous places in any confrontation and without hesitation put themselves in harm's way, ready to face jail, beatings, prison and even death. If not, they are nothing more than rank cowards using fake non-violence to disguise their weaknesses and impotence. "There is nothing more demoralizing... it must be shunned."

Among the advocates of non-violence, for every one with the courage of a true satyagrahi, there must be ten thousand impotent cowards. These cowards are demoralizing and holding back the movement in general and EF! specifically.

To Earth First! the practitioners and advocates of fake non-violence are more than worthless, they are a detriment and a genuine liability. Earth First! was once considered the radical fringe, the cutting edge of the Environmental Movement. As such, it inspired respect and support. It now appears that EF! is being co-opted by the whiners, hand-wringers

and chanting dancers that belong in Greenpeace or the Rainbow Family. EF! was founded as a radical direct action organization, the tooth and claw of the Environmental Movement. EF! must return to its roots, its original purpose.

Any advocate of non-violence must be willing to prove their courage and conviction by demonstration. If not, they are bullshitting cowards who are a detriment and disgrace to EF! and dishonor the name of Mohandas Gandhi by invoking it. Fuck 'em. Their opinions are worthy of contempt and dismissal, nothing more. Gandhi himself said they "must be shunned." The defense of the biosphere is the most crucial conflict in the history of mankind. In this struggle EF! was formed to be the frontline troops, the hardest of the hard core.

There are plenty of organiza-



tions that welcome, represent and are run by the posers and pretenders who play at environmental activism, or simply sit around and talk about it. Earth First! is not one of them. Purge the posers. Earth First! for the hard-core. No co-opting the cutting edge.

NO COMPROMISE! NO FUCKING COMPROMISE!

—RUSSELL "BONGO" BENTLEY

SFB:

I couldn't resist the compunction to respond, once and forever, to the "nonviolence" debate reigning in the EF!.

"Spike & Friends'" scathing critique of the Headwaters campaign in particular and EF! in general was well-placed and even timely. However, were it not for Spike & Friends' sneering bravado and macho-posturing, the piece might have offered some timely wisdom and impetus for change. Instead, principals and bystanders alike are being shoved into ideological camps entrenched in their respective dogma-shit.

Spike & Friends would do well to teach by example, but alas, they, like their North Coast EF! counterparts, are neither Aikido masters nor developing a discernible practice of radical environmental action that deals with the obvious foibles of protest-as-usual. Sadly, the notion of mastery, as in personal discipline, spiritual

awareness and physical training is altogether lacking in this whole discussion of "violence."

Humble yer'selves people!

—THE FERAL KID

*There is no strength in violence.*

Think of a heroic radical environmental or animal lib action. In my mind comes images of people like Paul Watson sailing into a nuclear test site to stop a nuclear bomb. It is the Animal Liberation Front breaking into a vivisection lab and rescuing the animals. It is Julia Butterfly perched 200 feet up a tree, defying all that Pacific Lumber Co. and the weather can throw at her. These are truly heroic acts. They take great acts of inner strength and personal bravery.

Compare that strength with an act of violence. Take the Unabomber murder of that logging executive. Was there

strength or bravery in that? No. It may have achieved worldwide media attention. But then so has Julia Butterfly's action. The Unabomber action did not save a single tree. Julia Butterfly is sure as hell making sure the ancient redwood named Luna is saved.

People sometimes talk about their support for violence (the pre-meditated injury or killing of a sentient being—be it a human or non-human animal) to show how radical they are. When there is nothing radical in violence. Violence is part of the status quo. Just ask anyone who has ever been "forcefully arrested."

As radical green activists we need to break away from a culture that accepts violence to create a world where the person with the biggest stick (gun or bomb) does not call the shots.

Nonviolent direct action, be it legal, semi-legal or darn right overtly illegal is not a tactic. It's an ethic. A way of life.

Any idiot can get hold of a book saying how to make a bomb. Any idiot can find a weapon capable of killing or injuring. It is the truly heroic person who can achieve their aims without threatening life.

For nonviolent direct action in defense of Mother Earth. No compromise and no violence.

—NOEL MOLLAND

P.S. Neither monkeywrenching nor tree spiking should be regarded as violent. Both are forms of nonviolent direct action. All forms of nonviolent direct action should be encouraged.

So, Spike, you want to talk about the "Cult of Non-Violence/Cult of Ass-Kissing," how about the "Cult of Egotistical Machismo Earth First!ers" who are more concerned with the glory of "fucking shit up" than with really stopping Earth-raping activities? Activists have been bombed and killed because of their non-violent actions to save Mother Earth.

Aren't we fighting a war AGAINST violence?

Spike writes of an action at Dillon Creek where an activist locked down under a water truck and had the hose opened on him. (NEVER lock to a water truck!) Spike says he was trying to motivate people to turn the water off, but nobody would because they were afraid of violence. I was there—my first experience with direct action. A raging logger was trying to drive over our friend and kill him. Spike was being confrontational, arguing with the very angry loggers and making the situation more dangerous by inflaming them. This is not the energy we want at any action. Those of us who were NOT interested in fighting stood in front of the tires so that if he was going to kill our friend, he was going to kill us all. It worked, the logger backed off. Then, I DID turn the water hose off. The logger ripped my arm away screaming "Don't fuckin' touch my truck bitch!!" Instead of arguing, I crawled under the water truck and laid on top of my friend all night to keep him from freezing. We were soaked but the logger mellowed out. This is what I believe in: peacefully putting my body in the way of harm to Mother Earth & her creatures.

This is a problem the Earth First! "movement" is having with people whose anger, egos, drunkenness, and un-cooperation gets in the way of being effective doing direct action. What good is throwing rocks at a logger's truck or fighting? The way we'll end this environmental crisis is by bringing EVERYBODY in the community together to realize that we ALL love our forests, YES, even loggers. By fighting with loggers, we're right where the corporations want us—to busy fighting each other to turn against them. Why are Union organizers like Judi Bari bombed? Because they represent the power that unified people have in resisting the oppressive corporate/government state. We need to drop our anger and attitudes and start working WITH each other before it's too late. And if you feel violence needs to be your tactic, don't bring it to peaceful direct actions. Be a solo wingnut.

—GLORIA PICCADILLY

I'm a big catch and release salmon and steelhead fisherman. I like to hunt also, but thanks to you little turds, my favorite Jack-rabbit is illegal to hunt. If I was ever hunting and you were hugging some tree, trying to save it, I would accidentally miss the deer and maybe destroy a camera or carton of soy milk. By the way, If any animal rights or environmentalist starts badmouthing me if I'm carrying my freshly bagged deer, I would defend myself against the biggest scourge against mankind since the plague in self defense.

—COWAN & LANGE,  
COWANLANGE@SEANET.COM

Last issue we ran a letter by Matt Roland about the unjust prison sentences he and his comrades were dealt for burning down new houses. Immediately after the letter was printed, Matt's address was changed. He can now be reached by writing Matt Roland #962480-4504, Marion County Jail II, 730 E. Washington St., Indianapolis, IN 46202.

—LP

### Cowboys End

Lips pull upon the thin veil of grass  
An illusion is rendered diminutively  
Hooves pierce the surface leaving  
Lacerations of orange clay washed out  
With the spit of a coal-fired sunset  
Some licks on the Appalachian Inclines  
And the old bones roll to sanctuary  
Down into what's left of the woods  
Surfaced in webs of moss pigment  
Underneath more network to fruition

### Seeing Bear

Walking Petersburg Creek, the Tlingit's Seetka Heenuk'w  
across the Wrangell Narrows from the mud-flat sloughs of  
Mitkof Island, hiking a seldom-used wilderness trail  
I pass the last cabin, last sign, last mark on the map  
and come upon brown steaming grounds of berry scat,  
piles of gutted humpies, half-chewed, fins still twitching.

Through skunk cabbage rank with growth and devil's club  
Waiting in ambush, its honed thorns prickly with menace,  
I skirt innocent gooseberries, expecting the worst,  
prepared around each bend for some dark bulk swatting fish  
and the ultimate terror of Ursus arctos horribilis.  
Thick groves of old growth soak up light and squeeze out  
shapes the stab of strange limbs, flicker of breeze.  
No quick exit out of this maze of Sitka Spruce  
tangled arctic bog, muskeg carnivorous with quivering  
insects caught in the sundew's last embrace.

A hundred humped shadows started, hungry, rearing up on hind legs, head-high  
and higher, murder growling in their fierce gaze.  
So near I can smell their panic wild as fish breath.

Lost in this untamed Alaskan bush where two-leggeds  
have no more weight than the nest they carry on their bones,  
puffing a tin whistle like a weebie,  
clapping hands, singing out a dread not joy,

I keep seeing the hundred kids of Death,  
its snout hairy, fangs bristling, about to attack.

Bruin gone berserk and bounding towards me.  
Slashed muscle, the snapped arm ripped from its socket.

Claws long as Bowie knives. Eyes like smoking volcanoes.  
To run or play dead? Its bulk crushing me into the earth.

Seeing hot flash my whole life engraved on a salmonberry  
ground to pulp in the molars of steel-trap jaw.

I meet no one walking that trail, neither grizzly nor rabbit,  
not even a deer munching lichen.

The air is crisp, clouds huddled against nameless peaks.  
Perhaps for the first time in my life

I am alone with the dark shape of  
myself.

### Lone Cone Free Poem

## Clear As Cut Glass and Just As Dangerous

Send poems to  
Warrior Poets Society  
ASUC Box 361  
Berkeley, California 94720-4510

### Walking Up White Walking Down

Walking down the street today,  
or tonight,  
my eyes went wild,  
Concrete became absurd,  
people became a threat,  
cars were always danger.

Walking down the street today,  
or tonight,  
my mind found freedom,  
then civilization  
and told my eyes how to see,  
and my eyes went wild.

Walking down the street today,  
or tonight,  
my world slowly shattered,  
and cracked and splintered,  
and nobody noticed,  
they ate dinner by moonlight.

Walking down the street today,  
or tonight,  
I bled within my heart,  
and scratched my mane and spots,  
for all the lost ground,  
but not the lost light.

We need the winter's darkness,  
to see our breath,  
and remember we're alive,  
to see the shadow of life,  
under the white empty foundation,  
to see the moon at dinner.

Walking down the street,  
I found the path under the sidewalk.

by Rob Boley

### The Ballad of Cascadia Free State

Hoodoo in the highlands  
where the snow  
mixes  
with rain;

Warriors gather  
with  
their gris-gris  
medicine bags

to save an ancient  
sacred forest  
from  
hatchets  
of civilization.

We gather by candlelight  
in the tipi hovels  
beyond the gate  
and watchtower

teachers and prodigies  
wood gatherers  
and water bearers

who love the holy shell,  
the ground  
of turtle island  
do the cougars watch us  
from their caves  
and smile?

do the trees and birds  
gossip  
about battle  
and justice?

the shamans and pasters  
are one  
champa and karma  
are one  
in blossom  
this is all a flower

this is all clean rain  
a fountain of the moon  
the silver apocalypse  
of conscience

by Sean Patrick Hill  
Warner Creek, OR  
3/96

# ROAD RAGING

BOOK REVIEW BY JOHN BOWLING

There is no one piece of work in the hands of activists that describes all the ins and outs of grassroots activism better than *Road Raging, Top Tips for Wrecking Roadbuilding*. Jam-packed into just 175 pages (plus 40 pages of appendixes), this must-have activist handbook brings together the nuts and bolts of community organizing, investigative research and nonviolent direct action. The information is based on the experiences of British anti-roads campaigns that avid *Earth First! Journal* readers may recognize: the Third Battle of Newbury, Twyford Down and the No M11, No M65 and No A30 link campaigns.

The book unfolds with five solid chapters describing the art of building a peoples' movement. Simple, concise information is offered on building a group, establishing an office, raising funds and dealing with the media. There are sections on organizing phone trees, utilizing internet lists and creating newsletters. But the real emphasis is on direct person-to-person communication. *Road Raging* describes how door-knocking, petitioning, group hikes, political forums, big events and other time-tested grassroots outreach

tools were applied to various campaigns. The media chapter is a critical analysis of how to best use the media, as opposed to being used by the media, with a real do-it-yourself approach that covers press release writing, photography and video documentation, as well as interviewing.

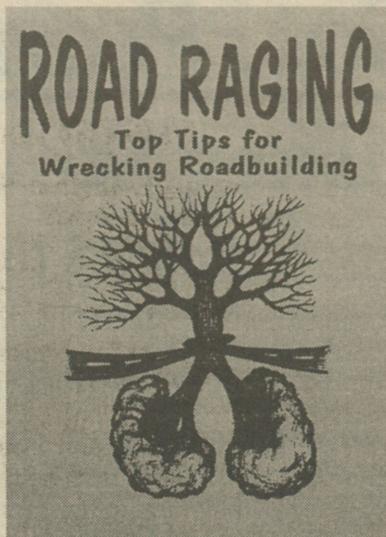
The next three chapters outline how to gather information from public and private sources and develop profiles on campaign targets and opponents. As the book states, "Ideally, you'd put bugs, hidden cameras and infiltrators in the offices of all the road builders' senior staff—do it if you have the money and knowledge!" In addition to digging up dirt on the Earth rappers, the book provides sound security tips activists can use to protect themselves and the integrity of their campaigns from these scum bags. It also delves into the strategic issues of how and when to escalate your tactics and how to prepare for direct action and the many legal issues surrounding this decision.

The action-packed chapters describing everything from building tree camps to tunnels and organizing critical mass bike rides and street parties are wild but brief, as is most of the information presented in this snapshot book of whatever-it-takes campaigning. I found this a bit troubling. There are safety risks not outlined in the book that some well-intentioned folks may not fully account for when taking action. Be careful out there!

*Road Raging* may present some ideologically challenging, even shocking, concepts for North American activists as information about property-destruction is presented along side civil disobedience tactics. Yes, people fuck shit up *en masse* in broad daylight along with lockdowns or "lock ons," as they call it in Britain.

The great nonviolence debate rages on in Britain as it does here. The book takes a no-nonsense approach in describing the different tactics, neither condemning nor condoning monkeywrenching. It even explains the usefulness of caltrops and smoke bombs next to that of tripods and u-locks or "d-locks." There are even some outrageous devices, like "chainsaw whips" which gum up chainsaws, and hands-on eviction evasion techniques that would make some US activists' heads spin!

*Road Raging* is as engaging in content as it is in British wit and humorous colloquialisms. It is written for a broad audience and has many impressive pictures of people swinging from insane tower and pole structures and awe-inspiring tree villages. There



are incredible international contacts and resources sections and appendices full of detailed diagrams, forms and campaign literature samples. Of special interest is the chapter on sustaining yourself and the campaign, which offers helpful hints on everything from avoiding burnout to keeping basecamp bug-free!

Pure and simple: *Road Raging* is about people raising hell to defend the Earth. More than anything else, the book challenges activists everywhere to think critically about their campaigning. This book is a great reminder of the depth and breadth of any successful grassroots campaign, and

perhaps best of all, a call for more community-based organizing and strategic direct action.

*Road Raging* is available through the *Earth First! Journal* for \$12. Use the order form on page 37.

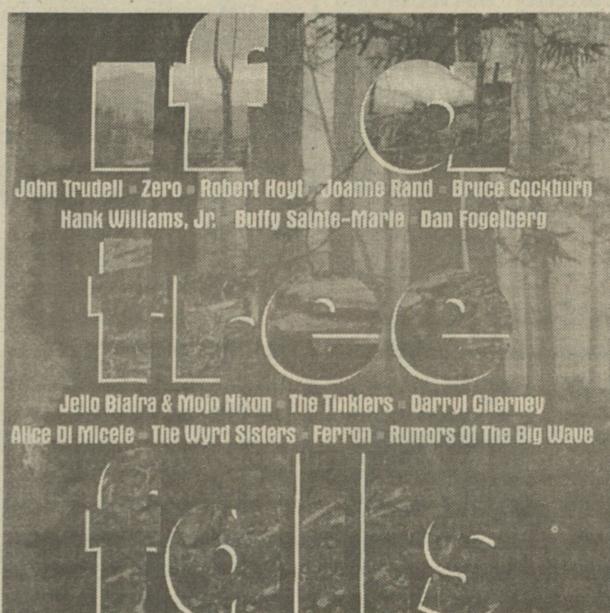
## if a tree falls

MUSIC REVIEW BY DARRYL CHERNEY

What are Buffy Sainte-Marie, Hank Williams, Jr., Dan Fogelberg and Jello Biafra all doing on the same recording? They're all singing songs about protecting our forests on EarthBeat!'s release *If A Tree Falls*. A portion of each sale goes to the Trees Foundation, which supports 19 forest conservation groups working to preserve the ancient redwoods in California's Headwaters forest.

*If A Tree Falls* is a virtual "forest opera," with each song acting like a chapter in a story. This is no ordinary compilation. The sojourn begins with the telling of the spirit and beauty of the forest, as espoused in Native American John Trudell's "Song of the Trees." The tale takes its tragic turn with Bruce Cockburn's title cut "If A Tree Falls," and Hank Williams, Jr.'s "Kiss Mother Nature Goodbye." The compilation concludes with a message of hope as veteran songstress Ferron sings "(I won't be a) Heart of Destruction," and Charlie Murphy of Rumors of the Big Wave reminds us that "(We could be dancing on) The Only Green World." Grateful Dead lyricist Robert Hunter penned an exclusive new song performed by Zero, "The Devil and the Trees." Jello Biafra and Mojo Nixon collaborate on a punk-a-billy version of "Where Are We Gonna Work When The Trees Are Gone?" *If A Tree Falls* offers a forum for unsigned artists as well. Canadian vocal trio The Wyrd Sisters are featured with a haunting ballad "Farewell Clayoquot Sound."

The concept for *If A Tree Falls* came from EarthBeat!'s visionary co-founder Leib Ostrow. He was arrested with his 15-year-old son in a 1995 protest calling for protection of Headwaters. "EarthBeat! is located in the heart of the redwoods,



and we see the slaughter of our forests up close," he said. Leib joined me in researching the material and co-producing the project.

*If A Tree Falls* is available from the *Earth First! Journal* for \$12 cassette and \$17 for the compact disc. To order use the merchandise form on page 37.

## EARTH FOR SALE

BY BRIAN TOKAR

BOOK REVIEW BY BENJAMIN ENTICKNAP

Whether efforts at ecological reconstruction take the form of a community garden, a farmers' market, abandoned land turned into a park, or a campaign against corporate interference with the integrity of one's community, activism at the local level helps to reclaim public space and nurture a sensibility that can begin to save our culture from the ravages of corporate dominance.

—BRIAN TOKAR, *EARTH FOR SALE*

Brian Tokar, in *Earth For Sale: Reclaiming Ecology in the Age of Corporate Greenwash*, takes a scathing look at the contemporary environmental movement and the powerful corporations wishing to derail environmental and social rights. The book introduces the reader to the diverse players of the environmental movement, from the mainstream lobbyists in Washington, DC, to the activists living in the canopies of ancient redwoods. Tokar exposes the co-optation of mainstream environmental organizations by greedy transnational corporations including Exxon, Union Carbide, Monsanto, Dow Chemical and Weyerhaeuser. This book dynamically depicts struggles that both environmentalists and affected citizens face in their daily quest for social and environmental equity. Tokar offers timely advice for the current environmental crisis, when money is more valuable than wild lands, clean air and pure water.

*Earth For Sale* successfully exposes how convoluted the environmental movement has become. Many individuals and organizations choose different paths to fight the system. Similarly, different philosophies underlie their actions. Tokar's contrast between social ecology and deep ecology is an interesting example of the different philosophies held by environmentalists. Deep ecologists, Tokar states, "perceive wilderness as the real world, in the setting where natural evolution may continue free of the manipulations and disruptions that they chiefly associate with human presence." Deep ecologists tend to view the natural world as separate from human society. They emphasize protection of biological diversity and have a "biocentric" worldview. In contrast, "social ecology seeks the roots of ecological destruction in particular social institutions—capitalism and the nation/state—and argues that an ecological society can emerge from forms of local political engagement that directly challenge these institutions." Advocates of social ecology look more at the role of humans in nature, trying to balance the needs for cultural and biological diversity.

This book engages the reader by providing current examples of social and environmental injustice caused by corporate greed. Tokar dives into the perils of the Salvage Rider which opened up vast tracks of previously protected public lands by exempting salvage sales from environmental enforcement, legal challenges and citizen appeals. We see how, in many cases, President Clinton's desire to appease both industry and citizens results in contradiction and compromise. Examples abound, including the struggle to stop the illegal dumping of toxic sludge on native lands in southern California's deserts.

Tokar depicts the strategies used by various groups to combat environmental destruction, plus he offers a few new ones. This book is excellent for the person wanting to learn more about current environmental battles. For more seasoned environmentalists, it offers new views and prospective solutions to long-term problems.

Upon completion, I walked away feeling the urgency for change. This change will not come as long as the environmental movement remains segregated. It is essential to unify activists, workers, all ethnic groups and social classes. *Earth For Sale* is a match to set the idea of an ecological revolution on fire. It is time for an ecological revolution that spans the globe in a rainbow of colors, stopping people in their tracks with the realization that the Earth is truly not for sale!

*Earth For Sale* can be ordered through South End Press of Boston, Massachusetts, USA.

# THINGS TO DO... PLACES TO GO... PEOPLE TO SEE...

## Western Shoshone Spring Gathering Crescent Valley, NV May 8-10

The Spring Gathering is a time for Western Shoshone and their supporters to come together in prayer and celebration to protect Western Shoshone lands and rights for the future generations.

Speakers, round dancing, food, ceremony, traditional skills, youth activities and raffle prizes will be shared by all.

This is an outdoor event, so please come prepared for camping. All meals will be provided.

Directions: Crescent Valley is located roughly halfway between Elko and Battle Mountain, south of I-80. From I-80, take exit 261. Follow the paved road 19 miles to the town of Crescent Valley. Take the first left after the cattleguard and continue on the road for 13 miles—it turns to gravel outside of town. Just follow the arrows!

Contact the Western Shoshone Defense Project for more info at POB 211106, Crescent Valley, NV 89821; (702) 468-0230.

No alcohol/drugs or firearms please!

## Fifth Annual Forest Activist Training Week June 7-14

Native Forest Network of Eastern North America will be hosting its fifth annual Forest Activist Training Week June 7 through June 14.

The training week will be held at the Wheelock Farm in the beautiful Green Mountains of Vermont. Experienced activists will share their skills with participants in a wide array of forest defense activities including:

- Working with the mainstream media and creating our own media
- Creative fundraising
- Compass work and orienteering
- Civil disobedience (CD) training
- History of nonviolent CD and radical movements in the US
- Communication, networking and working in coalitions
- Climbing, tree sitting and banner hanging
- Action planning: setting goals, reconnaissance and implementation

There will be many other workshops as well as informal discussions, role plays and nighttime activities.

For more information or to register, please contact Native Forest Network at POB 57, Burlington, VT 05402; (802) 863-0571; nfnena@sover.net. Space is limited so register early!

## Fund for Wild Nature

A non-profit, tax-exempt foundation which funds research, education and literature projects. Funding proposals and donations can be sent to: POB 1657, Corvallis, OR 97339

## GLOBALIZATION ACTIONS May 16-18

People's movements from all continents gathered in Geneva February 23-25 to discuss joint actions against the World Trade Organization (WTO), free trade and corporate rule.

The result was a global call for decentralized actions all around the world against economic institutions, corporations and governments in connection with the Ministerial Conference at the 50th anniversary of the free trade agreement GATT/WTO.

- May 16—Global Street Party! Thousands of people in cities around the world will simultaneously be dancing on the streets transforming privatized enclosed spaces into Festivals of Resistance against the car and fossil fuel industry, economic globalization and corporate rule. Organize your party now! Contact Reclaim the Streets! at POB 9656, London N4 4JY, England; 44-171-2814621; rts@gn.apc.org.
- May 18—Global Anti-WTO Day to coincide with the Second Ministerial Conference in Geneva.

A meeting to evaluate and coordinate further European actions will be held in Cardiff / Wales during the alternative EURO Summit (June 9-16). Contact Reclaim Europe! at 1B Waterlow Rd., London N19 5NJ; 0171-272 9333; fax 561 0800; europ@globalnet.co.uk or europ@astral.global.net.uk; http://www.geocities.com/Rainforest/5581/.

## Luna Video

The Stafford Giant Tree-Sit is the story of the longest tree-sit in US history. The Stafford Giant redwood tree, also called "Luna," was discovered blue-marked for cutting by Earth First! during the Fall '97 Headwaters campaign. In order to save it from the chainsaw, a nonstop tree occupation began. One extraordinary woman named Julia "Butterfly" has remained in the tree all winter! Here's the inside view of one of the most inspiring acts of civil disobedience ever.

For copies of this video send a \$20 donation to the Headwaters Action Video Collective at POB 2198, Redway, CA 95560; (707) 459-5490 ext. 582.

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## Muskeg Stomp Boogie June 15 to July 15

The Eyak Rainforest Preservation Fund in Cordova (Eyak) Alaska needs your help. They are inviting activists to a month-long action camp focusing on defending one of the last wild and intact pristine ecosystems left on Earth, the Copper River Delta.

Recently, House Resources Chairman, Don Young, sponsored H.R. 3087—a bill to grant a 25-mile, 500-foot-wide, right-of-way road easement to Chugach Alaska Corporation. They are planning to build a road into this ultra-sensitive pristine ecosystem and want to open this area to large scale industrial extraction.

From June 15 to July 15 the Alaska Department of Fish and Game is allowing the Chugach Alaska Corporation to begin roadbuilding into the Bering River/Carbon Mountain region of Alaska. The road is criticized by local fishers, Natives and environmentalists because it crosses 250 streams (100 anadromous fish spawning streams). Don't you think that some things are just plain sacred and should be left alone? This place is not only irreplaceable, but priceless—and not for sale.

The first week of the Copper River action camp will open with performances by amazing singer/songwriter Joanne Rand. Other bands and key speakers are invited to participate and show support in defense of our Mother Earth. Please join and help us. We need your spirit and support—this is a call from one of the last wild places on Earth.

For more information, contact the Eyak Rainforest Preservation Fund, Dune Lankard, POB 460, Cordova, AK 99574; (907) 424-5890, 424-5891; dune@redzone.org; www.redzone.org.

## Deep Ecology Tour with John Seed & Ruth Rosenhek

The Council of All Beings is a series of re-Earthing rituals created by John Seed and Joanna Macy to help end the sense of alienation from the living Earth that most of us feel and to connect us with new sources of joy, commitment and inspiration that follow from union with our planet.

Through sharing, meditation and ritual, we will explore the depths of our concern for our planet. Rediscovering our "deep ecology"—our interconnectedness with all beings—we find empowerment as agents of healing change. We step aside from our solely human identification and let other life forms speak through us. We allow ourselves, through group visualizations, to re-experience our four-and-a-half-billion-year evolutionary journey. By recapitulating our evolutionary journey in this way, we are able to shed our solely human identification and feel deep empathy for the myriad species and landscapes of the Earth.

(COAB is Council of All Beings; JS is John Seed; and RR is Ruth Rosenhek.)

- May 15-17 COAB, Oxford, MI, Upland Hills Ecological Awareness Ctr.; (248) 693-1021; uplandhills@igc.org, JS & RR
- May 15 Youth workshop, Oxford, MI; (248) 693-1021, RR
- May 18-22 Gathering of the Tribe, Bloomington, IN; (812) 330-9010
- May 23-25 Cincinnati OH, IMAGO Conference, COAB May 25, EarthSpirit

Rising; (513) 921-5124; earthrising@geocities.com, JS & RR

- May 25 Rainforest Roadshow, EarthConnection, Cincinnati; (513) 451-3932; ddepuydt@igc.org, JS & RR
- May 25 Celebration of The Word and Sacrament, High Point Church, Union, KY; (606) 384-4400; MendleAdam@aol.com, JS & RR
- May 29-31 COAB, Northwest Earth Institute, Portland, OR; (503) 288-1099; scnw@teleport.com, JS & RR
- May 31 An Evening of Ecopsychology in Portland, OR with Ingrid Schuitervoerder; (503) 248-1608; ingrids@igc.org, RR & JS
- JUNE 5-7 COAB, Ashland, OR (541) 482-4459; pamelat@mind.net, JS & RR
- June 12-14 COAB, Breitenbush Hot Springs, Detroit OR; (503) 854-3314; reservations@breitenbush.com, JS & RR

All the proceeds from our workshops and speaking engagements will go to Rainforest Information Centre projects in Ecuador, New Guinea, India and beyond. If our show is headed for your neck of the woods, contact us, and we'll send you some fliers to stick up in your town.

For workshop descriptions see, <http://forests.org/ric/seed/deep-eco/johnseed.htm>. To learn more about the projects we're funding, check out our internet site <http://forests.org/ric/> For July to October dates or more information contact (800) 555-8839, jseed@igc.org or rrosenhek@aol.com).

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Featuring Jan and Spring Lundberg on vocals. Get their

13-song first album, cassette for \$12, from Alliance for a Paving Moratorium P.O. Box 4347, Arcata, Humboldt, Calif. 95518 USA

# THINGS TO GO... PLACES TO SEE... PEOPLE TO DO...

## End Corporate Dominance MAY 29-31

The growing movement to dismantle corporations and their mechanisms of domination attains focus in the Pacific Northwest this May. A broad coalition of activists has planned a free Regional Conference to End Corporate Dominance Over Ecosystems and Communities at Portland State University.

Intended as a means to spark public dialogue and debate, attendees will emerge knowledgeable of the lengthy history of resistance, indigenous ways of thinking and behaving and strategies and tactics to promote alternatives to a homogenous, consumption-driven, corporate future.

Confirmed speakers are award-winning filmmaker Lee Lew Lee (All Power to the People), author Ward Churchill (Agents of Repression), Cecilia Rodriguez (US spokesperson of the Zapatistas), Richard Grossman (co-director of the Program on Corporations, Law & Democracy), investigative journalists Gerard Colby and Charlotte Dennett (Thy Will Be Done), Jeff Mackler (national secretary of Socialist Action) and Jeffrey St. Clair (co-editor of Counterpunch).

Advance donations are greatly appreciated, as is assistance with information distribution. Contact (541) 345-5720, 468-2028 or (503) 241-5468.

## DO OR DIE

The latest issue (164 pages!) hit the streets in March. This compilation of voices from activists within EF! comes highly recommended. "We almost killed ourselves and each other doing it, so we think it's quite good!" Send £2.50 (inc p&p), \$6 overseas to South Downs EF!, POB 2971, Brighton BN2 2GY, England.

ON JUNE 1, 1997 IN EUGENE, OREGON, 11 PEOPLE CLIMBED LARGE TREES DOWNTOWN TO HALT THEIR DESTRUCTION. THE EUGENE POLICE DEPARTMENT RESPONDED BY PEPPER SPRAYING AND BRUTALIZING THE TREESITTERS. A FUND HAS BEEN SET UP TO HELP PAY THE COSTS OF A CIVIL SUIT AGAINST THE CITY. SEND DONATIONS TO THE JUNE 1 LEGAL DEFENSE FUND, c/o OUR CREDIT UNION, POB 11922, EUGENE, OR 97440.

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## FBI Fiddling MAY 24

Fiddle down at the FBI Headquarters at 450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA, at 12 noon. Yes, you heard right! Rosin up yer bow. The FBI office hoedown will honor fiddler and Earth First! activist Judi Bari and support her civil rights lawsuit against the feds for trying to frame her for a car bomb assassination attempt that crippled her for the remaining seven years of her life.

Bari tragically passed away from breast cancer in March of 1997 at the age of 47 leaving behind two young daughters. Still held in the evidence locker of the FBI is Judi's fiddle. On the eight-year anniversary of the car bomb, we'll be demanding the return of Judi's fiddle, along with a call to end FBI political repression.

Perhaps you'd like to organize your own Fiddle Down of the FBI in your own region. For more information, call (707) 468-1660 or 923-4949.

## GAIA MUSIC FESTIVAL JULY 17-19

The Gaia Music Festival, featuring music for nature-based spirituality and environmental defense will be held in Laytonville, California. Cost is \$20/day, \$35/weekend, including camping and parking. This gathering will bring together environmental troubadours and goddess/pagan bards with the intention of bringing spirit to activism and activism to spirit. All proceeds will benefit the Headwaters Forest Campaign, Green Egg Magazine and other non-profits. Musicians, vendors and volunteers can send inquiries, demo tapes, etc. to Environmentally Sound Promotions, POB 2254, Redway, CA 95560; (707) 923-4949; ensopro@asis.com.

**The Caretaker Gazette** is a unique newsletter containing job openings, advice & information for property caretakers, housesitters & landowners. Published since 1983, each issue has 80+ property caretaking job opportunities, worldwide. Property caretakers enjoy rent-free living in desirable locations. Only \$15/half yr, or \$24/yr.



The Caretaker Gazette, 1845 Deane-EF, Pullman WA 99163. Credit card orders, please call: (509) 332-0806.

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## Unity in Diversity One People, One Movement San Luis, Colorado

June 5-7

Come to a gathering of the minds, intended to break down the barriers that divide the activist community and learn to find strength in our differences. Lively discussions with loggers and ranchers are certain to take place in workshops entitled "Violent vs. Nonviolent Revolution," "Drugs and Alcohol in the Movement," "Cross-cultural Organizing" and "Zero Cut vs. Sustainable Forestry."

The gathering is to be held at the base of the Sangre de Cristos in Southern Colorado, home to a seventh generation sustainable farming community threatened by the largest timber sale in the country.

What to bring: An open mind, a desire to effect change and unbridled creativity. Prepare for cold weather camping. Please bring food to contribute to communal cooking as well. If possible, leave your dog at home, or be a very responsible parent. Do not bring weapons or illegal drugs.

There will be a convoy leaving for North Carolina to celebrate the after-gathering party with Zachary Taylor, the greedy destroyer of La Sierra and racist desecrator of the San Luis farming community. Come dance on the ruins of his estate with us!

For more information contact Ancient Forest Rescue/Culebra EF! at POB 762, San Luis, CO 81152; (719) 672-3012; afr@amigo.net.

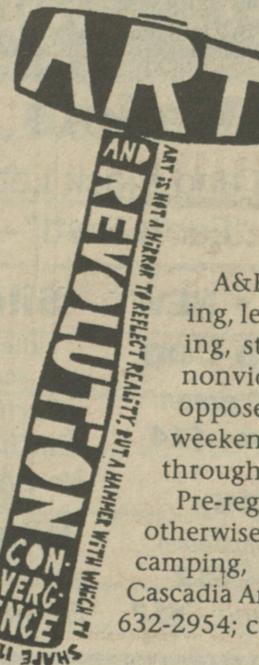
## NW Rendezvous

### Cove/Mallard Reunion!

Workshops, food, drink and friends! May 23-25 at the Cove/Mallard basecamp. For information, contact the Cove/Mallard Coalition at POB 8968, Moscow, ID 83843; (208) 882-9755; cove@moscow.com.

### Subscribe Today!

Use the form on page 38



## Smash Corporate Consumerism

### Art and Revolution!

#### Second Annual Convergence

May 15-17 Camano Island, Washington

A&R is about bringing our ideas together, skills exchanging, learning and teaching, puppet making, dance, stilt walking, street theatre, music, action planning, consensus and nonviolence training. Our theme for this weekend is to oppose careless consumerism. We will conclude our fun-filled weekend with a procession demonstrating our resistance through the streets of Seattle.

Pre-registration is requested. Receive \$10 off before May 9, otherwise \$35-\$85 sliding scale donation to pay for vegan meals, camping, materials and expenses. Work trade offered. Contact Cascadia Art & Revolution at POB 85541, Seattle, WA 98145; (206) 632-2954; car@scn.org.

## Salva La Sierra / Taylor Ranch Roadshow with Danny Dollinger

The Salva La Sierra roadshow is soon to be touring the South. We'll be featuring the newly released documentary on the struggle to save La Sierra, a slideshow and the jammin' tunes of EF! musician Danny Dollinger. The tour will culminate with a giant party to be hosted by Zachary Taylor, the owner of the Taylor ranch, at his home in North Carolina. A three-day gathering will take place prior to the party, demanding accountability for the cultural and ecological genocide he is imposing on La Sierra and the town of San Luis. Please join us!

- May 14—Memphis, TN
- May 16—Chatanooga, TN
- May 18—Knoxville, TN
- May 19—Ashville, NC
- May 21—Boone, NC
- May 22-25—Heartwood Conference
- May 28—Roanoke, VA
- May 30—Charlottesville, VA
- June 1—Chapel Hill, NC
- June 5—Athens, GA
- June 10-12—Newburn, NC
- June 12-17—Basecamp

For more information contact Culebra EF! or Ancient Forest Rescue at POB 762, San Luis, CO 81152; (719) 672-3012; afr@amigo.net.

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# NEW Earth First! Stuff

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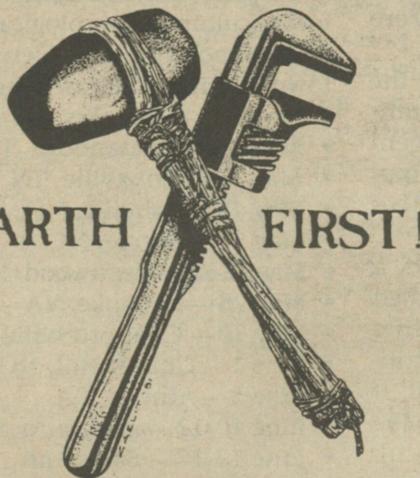
### Earth First! Fist

Green Fist on Unbleached—\$12

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Multi-color on Black or Forest Green—\$15

Green Fist w/ White lettering on Black—\$12



### Earth First! Tools

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Quality 3-inch patches for your daypack, jacket or butt  
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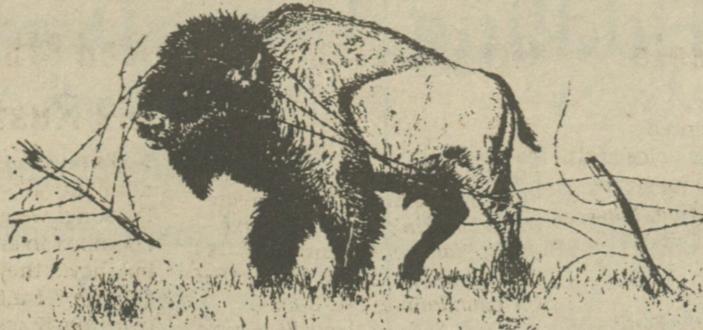
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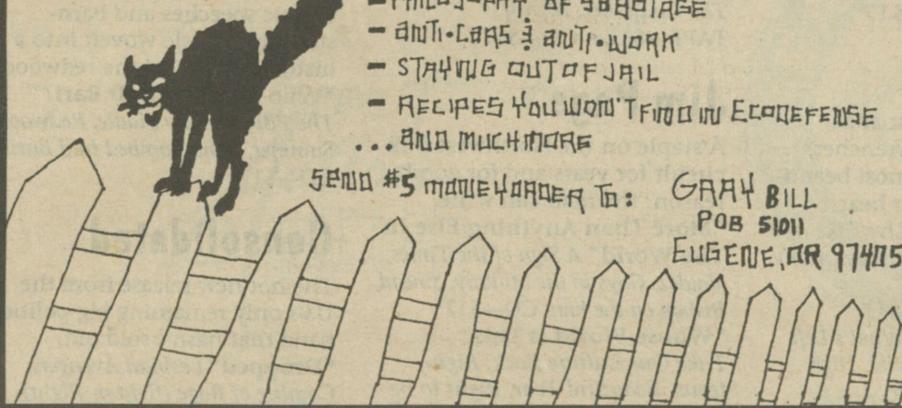


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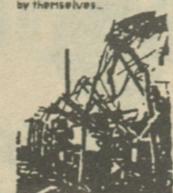
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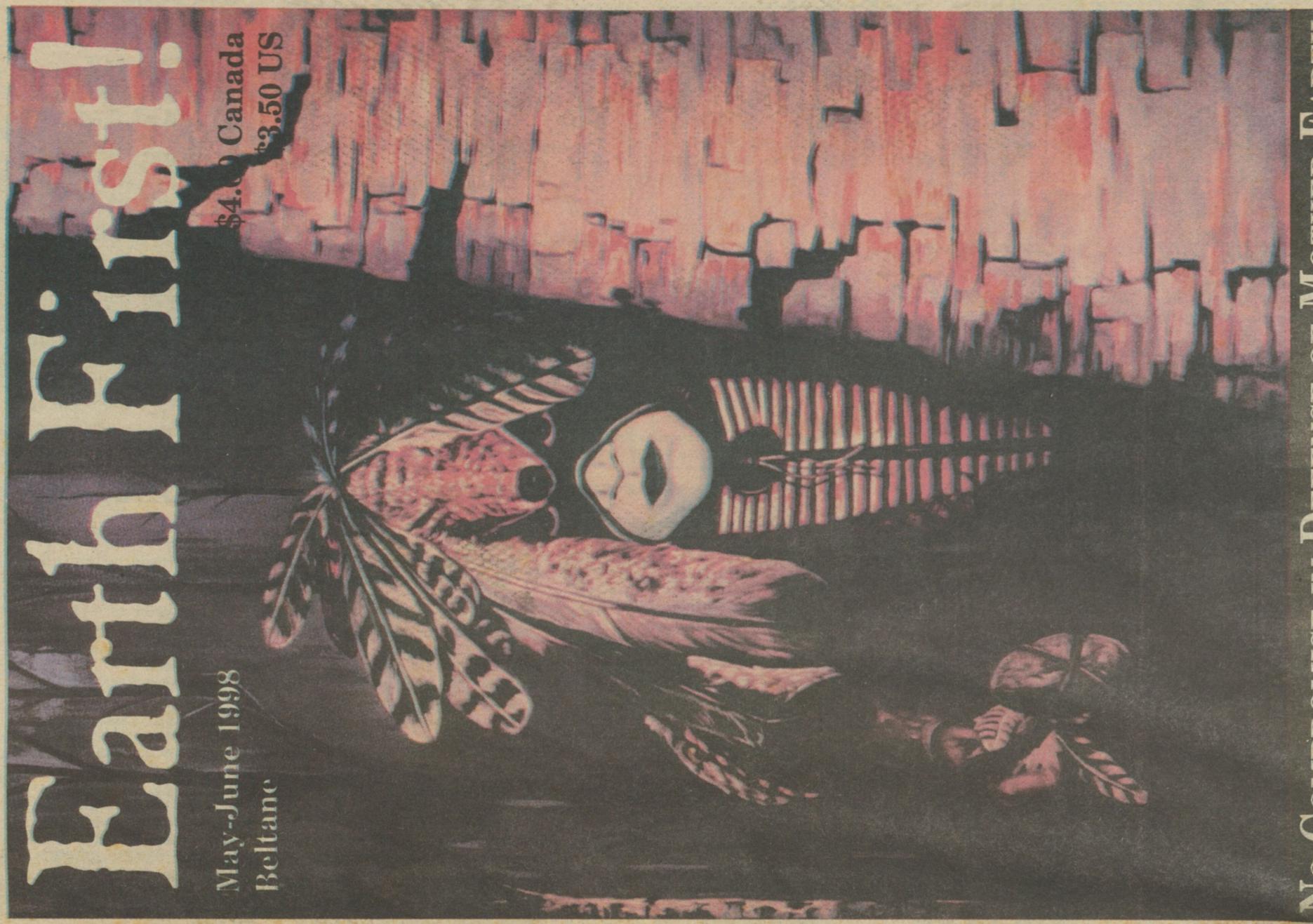
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## Innards

Immigration Editorial.....	3	Canadian Activists Charged.....	9
John Trudell Interview.....	4	Environmental Justice.....	10-13
Nonviolence Debate Part II.....	5	Australian Direct Action.....	16
Land Between the Lakes.....	6	Sarawak's Bakun Dam Delayed.....	17
Timber Certification.....	7	GANDALF Defendants Freed.....	17
Wolves and Poodles.....	7	MAI Delayed.....	18
ESAI Ain't Happenin'.....	8	1998 Round River Rendezvous.....	23
Lubicon Victorious Over Daishowa.....	9	Mink Liberations.....	24-25
		Getting Them #\$%*@ CBs to Work.....	29
		Music and Book Reviews.....	33



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